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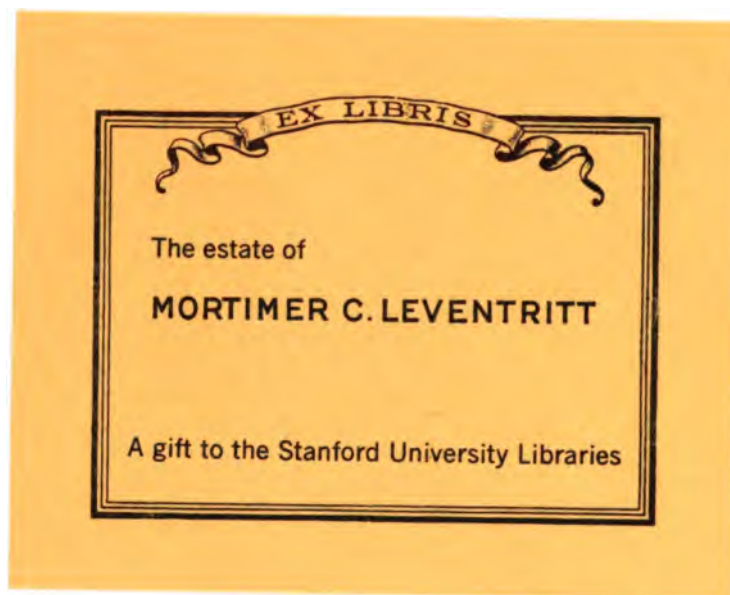
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THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI
AT LISHT

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PUBLICATIONS OF
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

EDITED BY
ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE

CURATOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN ART



Restoration of the anthropoid coffin.

This plate has been reduced by 10% for the reprint edition.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI
AT LISHT

BY
ARTHUR C. MACE
AND //
HERBERT E. WINLOCK

ASSISTANT CURATORS OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF EGYPTIAN ART

NEW YORK
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TIONS IN EGYPT, IS DEDICATED BY THE
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JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN

WHOSE INITIATIVE AND GENEROUS INTEREST
IN THE WORK OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
THEY GRATEFULLY REMEMBER

PREFACE

ON October 15, 1906, the Trustees of the Museum voted to establish a department of Egyptian art, and at the same time authorized the organization of an expedition to undertake work in Egypt on behalf of the Museum. The programme adopted for the expedition comprised (1) the investigation, through excavation, of sites representing the successive periods of Egyptian history and civilization; and (2) the formation of a series of records of the constructive and decorative features of Egyptian monuments, through photographs, architectural drawings, and copies in color.

As soon as its staff of archæologists could be engaged and its equipment secured, the work of the expedition was begun, in the winter of 1906-07, on the site first chosen for excavation—the pyramid-field of Lisht—for which a concession was granted by the Egyptian Government. This site includes the two pyramids of Amenemhat I and Senusert I, of the Twelfth Dynasty, with “royal” cemeteries of wide extent surrounding them, and was selected as in all likelihood the most important one available for the investigation of monuments of the Middle Kingdom. That this opinion was warranted, the results of the succeeding years have proved. Up to the present time (1915) the major part of our work has been upon the northern end of the site—the pyramid of Amenemhat and adjacent area. The excavation of the cemetery which practically surrounds that pyramid, with which the present volume deals in part, has added to our knowledge of the tomb-types of this period and of the character of the funerary material which they contained. At the same time the clearing of the pyramid-temple of Amenemhat has produced important material and facts in determination of the constructive features of these monuments relative to those of the Old Kingdom.

These results are being further emphasized by the investigation, not yet completed, of the pyramid-temple of Senusert, which from its somewhat better state of preservation has furnished additional evidence of the continuity of the main features in plan

PREFACE

and decoration of these Middle Kingdom temples from those of the preceding period. Preliminary reports of this as well as other sides of the work of the expedition have been published from time to time in the *Museum Bulletin*.

With the expedition well established in its work at Lisht, in the winter of 1907-08 a second concession was obtained at Khargeh Oasis, in order that another branch of the expedition might carry out simultaneously the excavation of a site representing one of the other principal historical periods. This oasis contained a series of monuments, dating from the Late-Dynastic to the Early-Christian period, which owing to their isolated position were in an unusual state of preservation. Work was carried on here through the years 1908-10 on a number of points in the northern end of the oasis. The excavation was begun of the Christian cemetery known as El Bagawat, with its decorated tomb-chapels, and likewise of the mounds of Ain el Turba, which proved to form a part of the town-site of Hibis and to date from the fourth century A.D. At the same time a much larger undertaking was carried out, in coöperation with the Service des Antiquités, in the clearing and restoration of the Temple of Hibis, erected mainly by Darius at the time of the Persian conquest, with a portico added later by Nectanebo I, and other constructions of Ptolemaic date.

In spite of the great interest of this site and the many monuments awaiting investigation in other parts of the oasis, it was found necessary in 1910 to give up our intention of undertaking additional excavations here, because of the prevalence of a malignant form of malarial fever which had attacked the members of the expedition and its native workmen. For two years more, during the most favorable months of the year, the work on the Darius temple was carried to completion, but in the year mentioned the main programme of this branch of the expedition was transferred to a new concession on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, where it has since been continued. Here, on the desert edge south of Medinet Habu, the remains of the palace erected by Amenhotep III have now been cleared for the greater part, following earlier work on the site by Daressy and by Newberry and Tytus. In view of the limited number of royal buildings of this type the site of which can ever be determined, the results derived from our work on this structure are of particular interest and importance, both in themselves and for comparison as well with the principal features of arrangement and decoration of the palace of Amenhotep IV, at Tell el Amarna.

Several kilometers north of the palace-site the expedition is engaged in the excavation of that part of the Theban necropolis known as El Assasif. On the desert edge, below the temples of Deir el Bahri, the ruins of a great mortuary-temple of one of the Ramesside kings have been discovered, constructed over and completely covering the lower end of a broad avenue which led up to the temple of Mentuhotep II-III, of the Eleventh Dynasty, at the base of the Nile cliffs above.

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In the north end of the hill of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, overlooking the temple of the Menthuhoteps, a series of tombs of their officials has been cleared, including the well-known one of Daga. Most of these tombs prove to have been inhabited as living places during the Early-Christian period, while that of Daga, in conjunction with a small building erected in front of the tomb on the hill-slope, had served as a monastical establishment presided over by one Epiphanios, in the seventh century A.D.

The branch of the expedition concerned with the formation of records began its work in 1907 and has been engaged principally on the rock-cut tombs of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. This particular point was chosen both because of the importance and great interest of these monuments in the painted scenes which they contain, and because of the greater need of acquiring a record of them at the present time, owing to the destructible nature of their plastered walls. The scope of this work has now been enlarged materially through a fund given in 1914 by Mrs. Edward J. Tytus, in memory of her son Robb de Peyster Tytus. This provides for a systematic record of the most important of these tombs and of other Theban monuments, together with their publication in a series of volumes of which the first, dealing with the tomb of Nakht, is now in the press.

In the work accomplished by the expedition much has been due from its beginning to the interest taken in it by the late President of the Museum, J. Pierpont Morgan, who assumed certain financial responsibilities regarding it which he continued until the time of his death in 1913. In the later years of its work, from 1913 on, the generous contributions of Edward S. Harkness, a Trustee of the Museum, have rendered it possible to increase the extent of the excavations both at Lisht and Thebes, with results of correspondingly greater richness and importance. The cost of publishing this volume has been met through an appropriation made by the Trustees from the income of the Leland Fund, which was given to the Museum in 1912 by Francis L. Leland, of this city.

To the members of the Comité d'Archéologie of the Egyptian Government and especially to Professor Gaston Maspero, who until recently served as Directeur-Général du Service des Antiquités, at Cairo, grateful recognition is given for the help which they have always extended to the expedition. Their generous interest in its work has alone rendered that work possible.

ALBERT M. LYTHGOE.

New York,
January, 1916.

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INTRODUCTION

THE tomb described in this volume was found during the winter of 1906-7, in the course of our first season's work at Lisht. The delay in publication is due to the fact that our time during the last few years has been devoted almost entirely to the reclassification of our collections at home, and their installation in the new Egyptian Wing.

It will perhaps be wise to forestall criticism as to the necessity or advisability of devoting a complete volume to a single private tomb. In the first place, the custom usually followed in publishing records of excavations, where the writer of the volume selects only those facts and gives only those details which at the time of writing he considers essential and necessary, is likely to cause, and frequently does cause, considerable difficulty to the student who works over the material, and still more to the digger who has excavated a similar site, and wishes to compare his results with those of his predecessors. Facts which at the time may seem much too trivial and unimportant to be worth publishing may in the light of subsequent work supply essential links in a chain of evidence which would otherwise rest incomplete. It is of course impossible to publish all our tombs with this elaboration of detail, but unplundered, or practically unplundered, tombs are so rare that we think a complete record of one will be of value. It will serve as a standard of reference for other tombs on the same site, many of which contain objects similar in type to those found in the present tomb.

The tomb is published as a unit in itself, and there will be no discussion in the present volume of its relation either to the other tombs in the cemetery, or to the *mastaba* within the enclosure walls of which it was situated.

The field work on the tomb was shared by Mr. Winlock and myself, and in the first writing of the manuscript he undertook the treatment of the coffins and I that of the other material. In the final preparation of the volume, however, so many points were worked out by us together, that we have taken the responsibility of authorship in common.

INTRODUCTION

Several of the photographs were from Mr. Lythgoe's camera, and it was only pressure of work connected with the organization of the Expedition in its first year that prevented his taking a more active part in the actual excavation of this tomb. To Miss Caroline L. Ransom, who read the book over in the proof, we are indebted for a number of helpful suggestions of which we have made use. The colored plates were painted by Miss Grace Luther (Pls. XXIII and XXXI, A and B) and Miss Hazel de Berard (Frontispiece and Pls. XXV and XXXI, C); the plans and a number of the other drawings were made by Mr. P. R. Bollo, of the Museum staff, Plate XIX by Mr. L. F. Hall, the other drawings by Mr. Winlock.

A. C. M.

THE
TOMB OF SENEPTISI

CHAPTER I

THE SITE AND THE TOMB

THE pyramids of Lisht¹ are situated on the edge of the western desert about thirty miles south of Cairo, almost exactly midway between the pyramids of Dashur and Meidum. For centuries, indeed we may say ever since the Twelfth Dynasty, the site has served as a quarry to the inhabitants of the country for miles around—Perring in 1837 mentions the fact of a bridge having been recently constructed at Tahmeh with stone taken from the northern pyramid—and the pyramids are consequently in a terrible state of ruin, being in fact mere shapeless mounds, with none of the actual construction visible. The pyramids are two in number, situated about two kilometers apart. Each has a number of large *mastaba* tombs grouped round it, while the space between these two little independent royal cemeteries is apparently full of small graves, some contemporary and some of much later date.

The site

For a long time there was considerable doubt as to the identification of these pyramids. They are first mentioned by Perring in the general survey of the pyramid field which he made in 1837.² The great German Expedition of 1842–1845 under Lepsius gives a short description of the site, and some notes on the construction of the northern pyramid.³ In 1882 M. Gaston Maspero cleared the entrances of both pyramids, but was stopped in each case by water before he got to the burial chamber.⁴ At this time they were supposed to belong either to the Tenth or to the Eleventh Dynasty. In 1894–95 excavations were carried out on a large scale by MM. Gautier and Jéquier,⁵ and the site was then found to belong definitely to the Twelfth Dynasty, the northern pyramid being identified with Amenemhat I, and the southern with Senusert I (Sesostris).

Former work
on the site

¹ Lisht, from which the site takes its name, is a small and unimportant village, situated on the banks of the Bahr Yusef canal, just below the northern of the two pyramids. According to Perring, the pyramids were also known formerly by the names of Matanieh (a village about a mile to the east, now the possessor of a railway station) and Bamha (another large village, about the same distance to the north-east).

² Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. 3, p. 77.

³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text I, p. 216.

⁴ Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, p. 148.

⁵ Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Lisht*.

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Work of the
present
Expedition

In December, 1906, a concession to carry on further excavations on the site was granted to the present Expedition, and in January of the following year work began. The northern pyramid was chosen as the starting-point of the new work, and for three seasons the clearing of the pyramid and of its temple was steadily carried on. An interruption during the years 1909-1912 followed, and since then the work of clearing has been continued on both the pyramid and the cemetery. During the season of 1906-1907, while we were working on the pyramid, some trial excavations on the cemetery ground west of the pyramid brought to light the foundations of a large *mastaba* tomb with a brick enclosure wall. Within this enclosure there were a number of subsidiary shaft tombs; one of which, No. 763 in our excavation numbering, is the subject of the present volume. As we have stated in the Introduction, we do not intend to discuss in this volume the relation of this tomb either to the *mastaba* within whose enclosure wall it was situated, or to the other smaller tombs in its vicinity. This will be dealt with in a later general volume on the cemetery.

General survey
of the site

The first four plates in the volume are devoted to general views of the site, with special reference to the position of the cemetery in which the tomb of Seneptisi was situated. Plate I, a view taken from the top of the southern pyramid, looking north, gives a good idea of the general character of the necropolis, and the relative positions of its principal monuments. The mound in the far distance marks the site of the pyramid of Amenemhat I. On the right, among the palm trees, is the village of Lisht. The low building, on the knoll to the left, in the middle distance, is the camp of the Expedition. The high mounds in the foreground and the pitting of the surface beyond are the work of the French Expedition in 1894. The photograph shows well the extent of ground that still awaits examination: the long stretches of seemingly virgin desert in the middle distance are for the most part full of graves, while the edges of the knolls in the distance, beyond the northern pyramid, contain innumerable rock-cut tombs.

The first photograph in Plate II gives a view of the desert edge, taken from a point north of the Lisht village, with the pyramid of Amenemhat on the right, and that of Senusert in the distance, on the left. The graves on the low ground in the middle of the picture belong to the modern cemetery. The second shows a nearer view of the northern pyramid, from the south-west, with the Expedition camp in the foreground.

The position
of the tomb

In Plate III we have a still nearer view of the pyramid from the same aspect. The cemetery in which our tomb was situated covers the plateau which stretches out to the left of the pyramid, the position of the tomb itself being marked by the tent. The second photograph was taken from the side of the pyramid, looking down on the cemetery. The rectangular patch of excavated ground belongs to the large *mastaba* already referred to, the rectangle representing the brick enclosure walls, and the white area in the middle the stone foundations of the tomb proper. The tomb of Seneptisi lay under

THE SITE AND THE TOMB

the brick wall, on the left side of the white area, and close to its edge. The pits in the foreground of the picture were excavated by the French Expedition.

Plate IV, A shows the mouth of the pit with its lining of brickwork. The stones in the foreground belong to the foundation of the *mastaba*, and it is clear that the grave of Senebtisi was constructed as close to it as possible, her burial chambers indeed, as we shall see, actually underrunning the *mastaba* wall. The two large pots on the right belong to a later occupation of the site. The second photograph shows the position of the pit in relation to the pyramid. At the time the photograph was taken the pit had been cleared to a depth of about a meter and a half.

The tomb itself was of the ordinary shaft and chamber type. In one particular, however, it broke a rule which was respected by almost all the contemporary graves in the cemetery, namely, that of orientation. The direction of the pit was E—W, instead of the usual N—S. There was, of course, a very definite reason for the N—S position. The ritual of the period insisted that the head of the mummy should be laid to the north, and custom demanded that the chamber should open out from the end of the pit, and not from its side. For the orthodox burial, therefore, the N—S position was inevitable. In the site chosen for the present tomb the possibility of the pit's taking this direction was precluded by the lack of space, and the unorthodox E—W direction was adopted. The difficulty was obviated, however, by the arrangement of the underground chambers. The offering chamber opened out from the end of the pit in the usual way and therefore ran E—W, but the burial chamber, instead of following the same line, turned sharply to the right, and by this means secured to the mummy its correct ritualistic position of N—S.

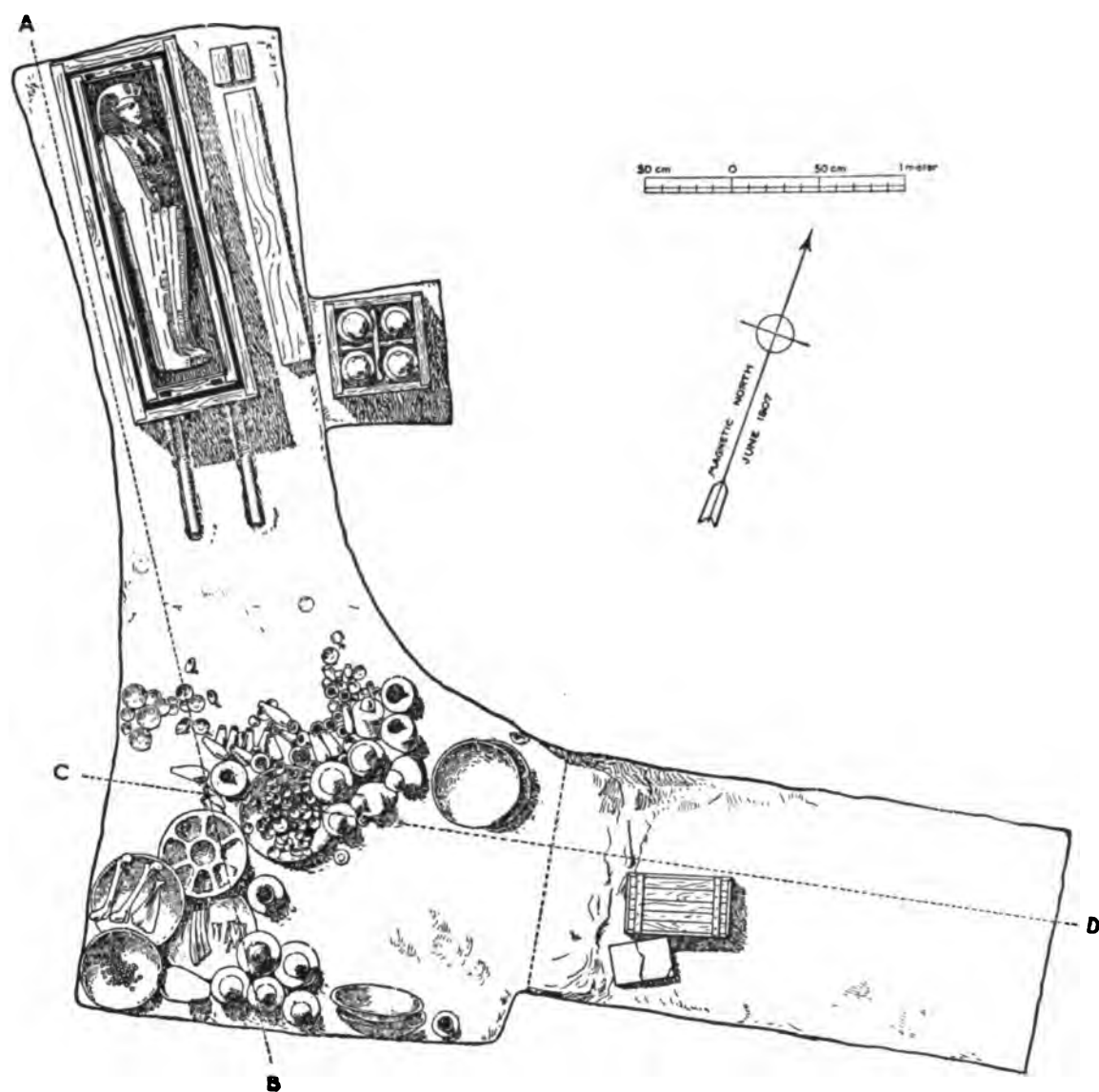
The orientation
of the tomb

A ground plan and two sections of the tomb are shown in Figs. 1 and 2. The depth of the pit from the old Twelfth Dynasty level was 6.85 meters, and between this level and the present surface of the ground there was an accumulation of about half a meter. The upper part of the pit was lined with bricks, 32 cm. by 15 cm. by 9 cm. in size, and covered with a heavy coating of plaster. Next came a shallow stratum of hard-packed gravel, which overlies the bed-rock of the desert here, and below this the pit passed successively through three distinct strata of limestone, the first coarse-grained and readily splitting, the second hard-packed and close-grained, and the third soft and friable.

The shaft

It was in this last easily worked stratum that the chambers were made. The floor of the pit was very roughly cut. It had a slight downward slope from east to west till it reached a point 65 cm. from the line of the chamber, where it took a sudden drop of 35 cm. The offering chamber opened out of the pit from its west end. It was roughly square, but very irregularly cut, and without a straight line or a right angle in it. Its roof had gradually broken away and collapsed to a height, by the door at least, of some 65 cm., but the line of chisel marks on the side walls and on the corners of the pit showed

The chambers



PLAN OF THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI WITH THE BURIAL FURNITURE RESTORED

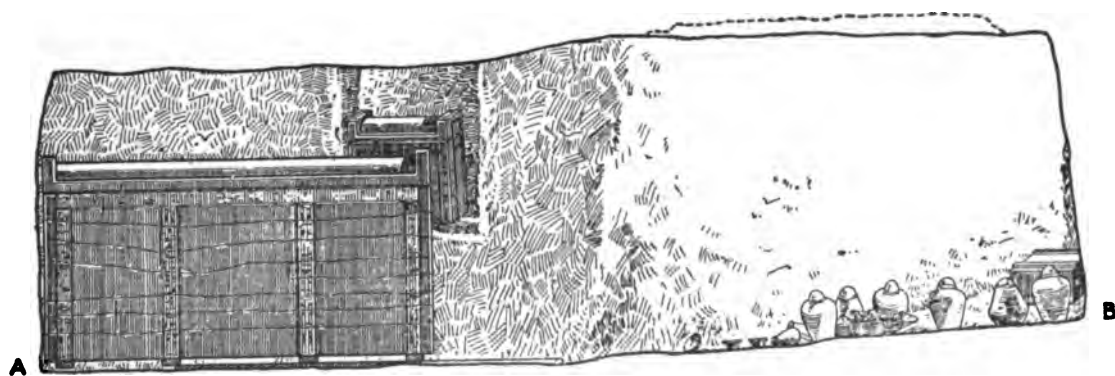


FIG. 1

SECTION THROUGH THE BURIAL AND OFFERING CHAMBERS WITH THE COFFINS RESTORED

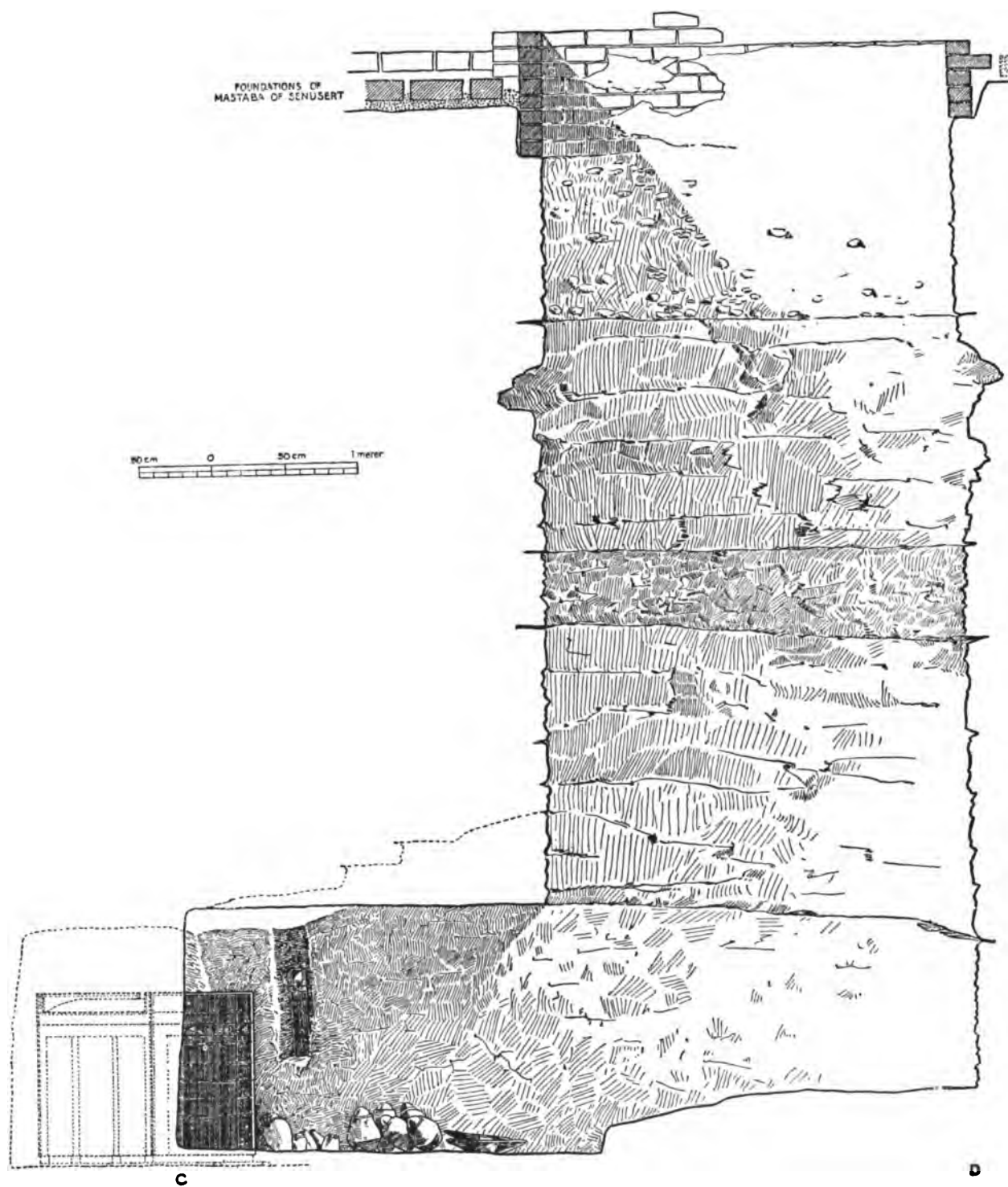


FIG. 2

SECTION THROUGH THE PIT AND OFFERING CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

the original height of the chamber to have been from 1.60 to 1.65 meters. There was no definite division between the offering chamber and the burial chamber, the north wall of the former being carried round in a curve to form the east wall of the latter. The direction of the burial chamber was intended to be N—S, though actually it veered considerably to the west of north. This abrupt change of direction from that of the outer chamber was influenced by one of two considerations, or possibly by a combination of both—namely, the desire to secure for the mummy its correct ritualistic position, and the hope that by thus placing the chamber beneath the chapel of the adjoining *mastaba*, the mummy of Seneptisi might be brought under the protection of the richer neighbor and share in the offerings provided for his benefit. The chamber was a long and narrow one, widening slightly to the end, but leaving very little room after the coffin was in place for the deposition of offerings.

Roughness and comparative shallowness of the tomb

One of the most surprising things about this burial, in view of the value of the objects which it contained, was the cheapness of the tomb itself. The pit was comparatively shallow, the chambers were roughly and inaccurately cut, and there was a lack of finish and a slovenliness of execution about the whole tomb that was far from suggesting a costly burial.¹ There were many tombs in the immediate vicinity of this one that were deeper and larger, and bore signs of far more careful workmanship. We must surely suppose that in these cases the burials also were more costly, a supposition which the finding of single objects overlooked by the plunderers thoroughly confirms. This fact shows clearly the wealth that was lavished by the better class inhabitants of Lisht on a single tomb, and furthermore furnishes a complete explanation of the wholesale plundering that prevailed. It only remains to add that the plundering was largely contemporary, the few unplundered burials that were found being almost without exception not worth plundering.

¹ It is probable that in this case the construction of the tomb was not undertaken until after the death of its prospective tenant. The rock in which it was excavated was for the most part soft and easily workable, and there would have been ample time to complete the work required in the period that elapsed between death and the actual burial.

CHAPTER II

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

THE larger graves in the Lisht cemetery had almost invariably been thoroughly ransacked in ancient times, and this one, at first sight, seemed no exception to the rule. The upper part of the pit-filling consisted of rubbish and blown sand, and in the mouth of the pit, about a meter below the surface, there were the broken remains of two or three wooden statuettes, which had been thrown out by plunderers from a neighboring grave. Lower down, the character of the filling changed, and at the bottom it consisted almost entirely of rough blocks of stone, just such blocks as were commonly used to fill up the pit at the time of interment. Any hope, however, of finding an absolutely virgin grave was quickly dispelled when the entrance to

Nature of the
pit-filling

First evidence
of plundering

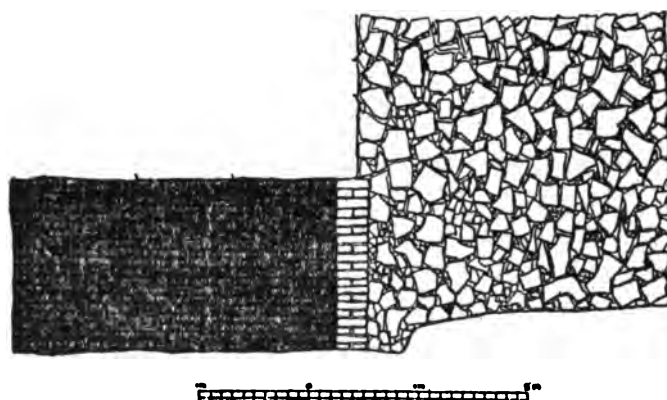


FIG. 3

SECTION, SHOWING THE ORIGINAL BLOCKING OF THE DOORWAY
AND THE FILLING OF THE PIT

the outer chamber was disclosed. Of the original door-blocking only a few scattered bricks remained; stones from the pit had drifted in and covered the whole floor of the chamber, and in addition portions of the chamber roof had broken away from time to time and covered the floor with a fresh layer of débris. The first view in Plate V shows

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the outer chamber as we first saw it, while the second, taken after the roof débris had been cleared away, shows the lower layer, the stones from the pit-filling. Fig. 3 is a restoration of the original door-blocking and pit-filling: the section in Fig. 4 shows the condition of pit and chamber as we actually found it. A. marks the line of débris from the roof; B. shows the drift from the pit; at C. are scattered bricks from the blocking; and the stratum D. consists of sand and blackened earth formed by the crushing and decomposition of the bricks.

The photographs on Plate V having been taken, the floors of outer chamber and pit were carefully cleaned, and fresh evidence that the tomb had been already entered at once came to light. In the pit, just outside the entrance to the chamber, there were

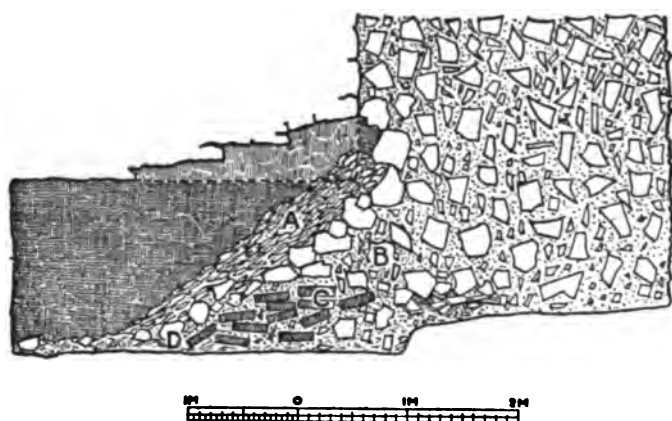


FIG. 4

SECTION THROUGH THE LOWER PART OF THE PIT AND THE OFFERING CHAMBER AS FIRST FOUND

Wig-box

Pottery in the outer chamber

the remains of a wooden box, decomposed and crushed (Pl. IX, A). This was upside down, and had evidently been thrown out by the plunderers. It contained the blackened remains of some hairy substance, possibly a wig.¹ In the chamber there was a quantity of pottery, almost all broken by the weight of stone with which it had been covered. At this point the work was halted again while photograph A on Plate VI was taken. At the south end of the chamber the pottery was still ranged in order just as it had been placed at the time of the burial, jars with their mud sealings still in position, and dishes either leaning empty against the wall, or filled with meat joints, trussed ducks, and other offerings (see also Fig. 1). The disposition of the rest of the pottery was doubtful, as the plunderers had evidently treated it with little ceremony, thrusting it carelessly out of the way so as not to impede their operations in the burial chamber. Note was taken of the exact position of each vase and dish, and the pottery was then numbered and removed, the parts of each vase being wrapped together to facilitate as far as possible the process of mending.

¹A somewhat similar box, actually containing a wig, was found by Gautier and Jéquier in a pit near the southern Lisht pyramid (*Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 50).

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

The pottery once out of the way, it was possible to set up a camera permanently in the outer chamber, and photograph the various stages in the clearing of the burial chamber.¹ Photograph B on Plate VI gives a view of the chamber as it appeared when we were first able to see into it. Its entrance was completely blocked by a pile of stones and rubbish, mixed with a few bricks. The outer coffin was in ruins, but the glint of gold beneath the decayed wood of the coffin and the gold leaf hanging loose on the edges of the Canopic box showed at once that the plundering of the tomb had not been so thorough as the state of the outer chamber might have led one to expect. The pile of rubbish itself, heaped as it was over the end of the coffin, was a puzzle. It could not have drifted in from the pit, for the back end of the chamber was, as can be seen from Plate V, almost free from débris. Moreover, on clearing a certain amount of it away (Pl. VI, C), it became evident that it had been deliberately heaped up, with bricks laid loosely one above another to support it. Nor were the bricks part of an original blocking to the chamber, for they were not built, but laid carelessly with loose stones beneath them. Who, then, was responsible for this pile of rubbish? It must either have been the plunderers themselves, or the people—relations, cemetery guardians, or whoever they were—who disturbed them before they had been able to achieve their main object. That the former should have taken the trouble to block up the entrance to the chamber seems incredible. We must suppose that friends or tomb guardians learned that the burial was being plundered, went down the pit to investigate, and, finding that no material damage to the inner chamber had yet been done, set up a hasty barrier of stones and bricks taken from the original blocking of the outer chamber, and then refilled the pit. This may not sound very plausible, but the signs of plundering in this tomb raised a good many difficult questions, and it will be well here to anticipate a little, and state what we afterwards found as the final evidence of the presence of plunderers in the burial chamber. The outer coffin, as we have said, was in ruins, but enough remained (Pl. VIII, C and D) to show that its edges, like those of the second coffin and the Canopic box, had been originally covered with gold leaf. Of this gold leaf hardly a trace remained, and its absence explains the skew position of the coffin itself. Thinking, apparently, that they were secure from interruption, the plunderers must have gone about their work in leisurely and methodical fashion, and, fortunately for us, delayed to strip the comparatively worthless gold from the outer coffin before making sure of the far more valuable treasure which they must have known lay within. It was at this point that they were disturbed, and made off with their gold

Blocking at the entrance of the burial chamber

Further evidence of plundering

¹The underground photographs in this volume were all taken by means of reflected sunlight, a medium which gave a softer and more even result than could have been attained by flashlight. The method adopted was as follows. A boy on the surface with a glass mirror threw a beam of light down the pit; there it was caught on another mirror and diverted into the offering chamber, whence it was directed by a third mirror of polished metal into the burial chamber. A triple reflection of this kind required about half an hour's exposure on an F. 45 stop, and care had to be taken to distribute the light evenly over the whole picture by keeping the final mirror constantly moving.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

leaf, and possibly with other offerings from the floor of the tomb of which no trace remained. One other reminder of their presence they left in the outer chamber. This is shown on Plate IX, C, and consists of the lower part of a round-bottomed jar, much blackened on the inside. It was probably an improvised lamp. The burial chamber was in almost total darkness, and a light would be essential to them in their search for treasure.

Remains of the
outer coffin

This digression has taken us too far perhaps into the realm of speculation, and we must return to a description of actual facts. The ruins of the outer coffin are shown in Plate VII, A. The wood had decayed and the boards of the lid had fallen in, but enough remained to show that the coffin had been one of a common Middle Kingdom type, with raised ends and a rounded top. Its original height was indicated by the white mark on the north wall. As the rubbish which had been piled over it was cleared away, the wood from its end boards fell, mostly in dust, and a second coffin, similar in type, but of harder wood and in good condition, was disclosed. As we have already stated, the second coffin was decorated with thin bands of gold leaf, and a wider band of the same material, with an incised inscription upon it, was carried down the center of the lid. Unfortunately the leaf was not pasted directly on the wood, but on a prepared surface of stucco. This had for the most part gone to powder, and consequently the gold leaf was quite loose, and in places had already fallen to the ground. To move the coffin as it then was, or even to take off its lid, would have been to destroy half its value, both artistic and archæological; and it was resolved to restrain our impatience to see what the coffin might contain till all the gold should have been replaced. This replacing of the gold was a very long and tedious business. The coffin was cleared of the stones and decayed wood that encumbered it in small sections at a time, and, inch by inch, the gold was re-stuck in its original position. Two methods were employed. If the gold was strong enough to stand it, it was lifted bodily off and then glued with a solution of white shellac and alcohol. In many places, however, the gold was in much too crackled and tender a condition to be touched. In such cases boiling paraffin wax was poured over it, which, penetrating through the minute cracks in the gold, fastened it firmly down to the wood of the coffin. Any excess wax that was left on the surface of the gold was afterward cleared off, either by the application of heat or by benzine.¹

Preservation of
the gold leaf on
the coffin

Plate VII, C gives a view of the coffin after the removal of the débris, and after the

¹The means adopted in this tomb both for the preservation and restoration of the objects found, for some of which we are indebted to Professor Petrie, are described at some length, in the hope that the results of our experiments may prove of service to others who find similar material which has suffered from a like process of decay. That the material at Dashur, where the nature of the desert is exactly like that at Lisht, was in very similar condition to our own is manifest from the following description, taken from *Dabebour* II, p. 50—"Ces objets eux-mêmes, quand ils ne sont pas minéraux, sont d'une fragilité extrême. Le plus souvent dorés, la feuille de métal a été posée sur une légère assiette de céreuse et le moindre souffle d'air, le moindre attouchement la fait envoler. Il arrive aussi très souvent que le bois est absolument vermoulu, plus fragile que du liège: le transport de ces monuments est réellement impossible et ceux qui ont été sauvés l'ont été quasi miraculeusement, grâce aux précautions infinies qui furent prises."

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

re-gluing of the gold on the south end, the east side, part of the west side, and the lid band. The north end and the farther part of the west side could not be reached, and were treated later, after the burial had been removed. On the east side of the coffin, at the north end, there was the usual eye-panel (see Pl. XVII, A), with a gold background, inlaid eyes of aragonite and obsidian, and blue painted eyebrows and drops. Both the gold and the eyes themselves had already fallen out of position: they were carefully collected, and later, in New York, were replaced, new wooden eye-frames being made to take the places of the original ones, which had shrunk to such an extent that they would no longer hold the eyes. This coffin, which had to be removed and packed piecemeal, was afterward put together again in the Metropolitan Museum and strengthened with angle irons on the inside to prevent warping. Two views of the coffin thus reconstructed are shown on Plate XVII. The bottom board and the four cleats below it are new, as the old ones were in too rotten a condition to support the weight of the coffin.

Second coffin

Before opening the coffin, examination was made of the other objects which the burial chamber contained. The Canopic box (Pl. VIII, A) was too far gone to be worth preserving, but measurements and notes on its construction were taken, and the painted inscriptions on its exterior were copied so far as they could be traced. The jars (Pls. VIII, B and XXXIII) were of aragonite, and still contained traces of the organs which had been placed in them (see Appendix I). The heads were of wood, covered with a coating of stucco and painted. These, too, needed treatment before they could be moved, for the heads themselves were in bad condition, and the stucco, owing to the shrinking of the wood, had cracked off and in places had already fallen. Melted wax was again the medium used. It had the disadvantage of darkening the surface of the stucco, but otherwise it acted as a very effectual preservative, for the heads were afterward packed and bore the journey to New York without suffering any damage whatever.

Canopic box

Between the coffin and the east wall of the chamber there were the remains of three boxes (see Pl. VII, B, and also Fig. 1). The first had been a long box of the type found by De Morgan in several of the Dashur tombs,¹ and originally contained a set of ceremonial staves, but these, like the box itself, had been reduced almost to powder (see Pl. IX, D). Such of them as could be identified are described in a later chapter. The other two boxes, shaped like miniature shrines (Pl. IX, E), were lying face down, close to the north-east corner of the chamber. Originally they must have stood erect against the north wall, and were either overturned by the plunderers, or collapsed with their own weight as the wood got rotten. Of their contents nothing remained but a mass of decomposed cloth (Pl. IX, B).

Stave box and
shrine-shaped
boxes

¹See, for example, De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, pp. 95 and 109.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Skid poles

One detail in the arrangement of the chamber remains to be noticed before returning to the actual burial. When the rubbish was cleared away from the entrance to the chamber, two skid poles, on which the coffin had been slid into position, were brought to light (Fig. 5). These were laid in grooves cut in the floor, and were packed

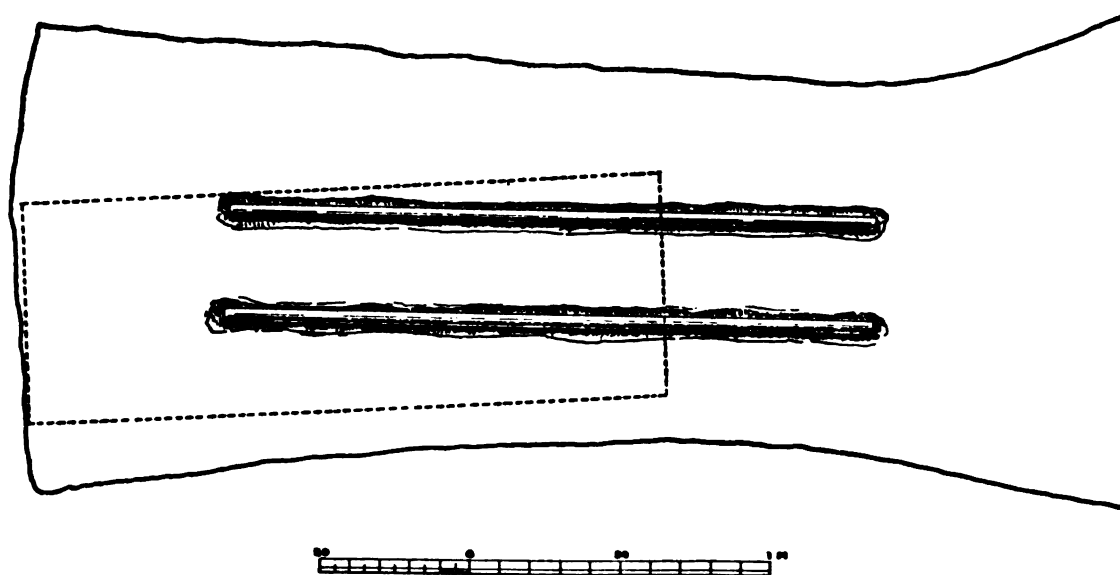


FIG. 5

THE SKID POLES. THE DOTTED OUTLINE MARKS THE POSITION OF THE COFFIN

tight with chips of the rock in which the tomb had been excavated (Fig. 6). They were of the same wood as the second coffin (cedar) and were artificially rounded. The western pole was made up of two pieces pegged together. As the diagram shows, the poles were almost parallel with the east wall of the chamber: the present skew position of the coffin was due to disturbance by the plunderers, in their efforts to strip the gold leaf from the side and end of the coffin that were against the walls.

Second coffin
opened

The gold now re-stuck as far as possible, and the floor of the chamber cleared, it was permissible to open the coffin. The lid was accordingly removed, and, to enable photographs to be taken, the upper part of the south end also (Pl. X, A). At first nothing could be seen but masses of decayed cloth, with staves showing through. At the north end of the

Packing of
linen shawls

coffin there was an empty space, and at this stage of the clearing we considered it probable that the burial had been plundered at the head: afterward it was found that the space was only due to the collapse of the head of the innermost coffin. Small pieces adhering to the sides of the coffin showed that the cloth had originally come to within 3 cm. of the lid. It was in such bad condition, falling almost to powder when touched,



FIG. 6

SECTION, SHOWING THE GROOVES
IN THE FLOOR CUT FOR THE SKID
POLES, AND THE PACKING
AROUND THEM

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

that nothing could be done with it, but it was possible by careful examination to learn something of the manner of its disposition. It had consisted of some twelve shawls folded to the width of the coffin, and laid over the burial. The edges were fringed and were all together on the west side. At the top there were at least four fringed edges, belonging to shawls which were folded either separately or together. Next, there were eight fringed edges together, showing that four shawls had been folded within one another; and below this again there were the eight edges of four more shawls, also folded together. This custom of filling up the coffin with folded shawls was found in several cases at Naga-ed-Deir by the Hearst Expedition, and instances of it have been noted on other sites.¹ Its original object may have been to safeguard the mummy from being jolted and shaken out of position during its journey to the grave.

Beneath the shawls, and themselves separated by occasional thicknesses of cloth, there were ten ceremonial staves, one, a curious double staff, on the right of the mummy, and the other nine on its left. These were brought to light gradually as the cloth was removed² (Pl. X, B). They consisted, in addition to the staff already mentioned, of an *uas* sceptre, a *zam* sceptre, a crook sceptre, a straight staff, a straight staff with forked bottom, two bows, a so-called "whip," and an aragonite-headed mace. Two or three of them were in good condition and needed no treatment, but the remainder were so rotten that they could not be lifted without breaking. Melted wax was poured over them as they lay. This rendered them strong enough to be taken up in sections, placed on a board, and removed to the camp, where they were cleaned, joined together, and made strong enough to travel by a more thorough soaking in the wax. Several of the staves were capped with gold leaf, and this in every case needed re-gluing on the spot. The whip called for special attention, for complete examples had been found in only four other graves,³ and in none of the four was it possible to make more than a tentative restoration. Photograph A on Plate XIII shows the whip in position as it lay. The handle was uppermost, broken into three sections. These were carefully removed and steeped in wax, and it was then possible to make a closer examination of the order in which the faience and carnelian cones and cylinders were disposed. The threading strings had of course long since become rotten and several of the cones had fallen away, but enough remained still in position to leave no doubt as to the original order of the whole. The diagram in Fig. 7 shows the basis of our reconstruction. The positions of the vertically hatched cones were certain, those with horizontal hatching were probable, and the plain ones were doubtful. The cones marked *c* were of carnelian, the rest being all of faience. In the first place, the position of the lower

Wooden staves

Preservation of
the staves

¹Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, Pl. XXVIII; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pp. 170 and 176; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, p. 31; Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, Pl. XXI.

²An idea of the state to which this cloth had been reduced may be gained from the fact that, in order to clear away the ash-like remains of the linen without disturbing what lay beneath, recourse had to be made to a pair of bellows and a spoon.

³De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, pp. 98 and 111; *Dabchour II*, p. 54; Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

group of cones was certain, and it would be at least probable that the upper group would follow the same system. This hypothesis is borne out by the position of the cones marked "certain," the carnelian cones being in each case separated by two of faience. Another pointer in placing the missing cones was the fact that the smaller cones were placed at the top. And lastly, the only other symmetrical combinations—faience faience faience carnelian carnelian carnelian faience faience faience, faience faience carnelian faience faience carnelian faience faience carnelian, and carnelian faience faience carnelian faience faience carnelian faience faience—were all found to be impossible when the position of the "certain" cones was applied to them. The order being settled, the cones and cylinders were re-threaded on the spot, to ensure that so far as possible they should be kept exactly in their original positions on the whip. The tiny bands of gold leaf which were applied to the lower end of each cone were almost all loose, and in some cases, as can be seen from the photograph, had fallen off; these were glued on again as each cone was threaded.

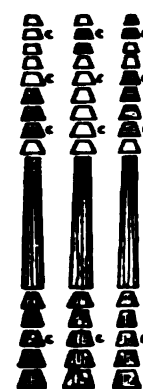


FIG. 7
DIAGRAM
ILLUSTRATING
THE RECON-
STRUCTION OF
THE WHIP

Innermost
coffin

To facilitate the work of clearing down to the burial the upper board of the east side of the coffin was now removed. The staves were taken up in the manner described, and the masses of decomposed cloth which overlaid everything were carefully brushed and blown away. In the course of this clearing a quantity of beadwork came to light on the upper part of the body, which seemed to belong to an elaborate collar of some kind. Next, sheets of gold leaf began to appear beneath the cloth, running apparently the whole length of the burial, and upon these, in the neighborhood of the beadwork, there could be traced the outlines of the conventional drop curls from a wig. Our first idea was that the beadwork, gold leaf, and wig were parts of a cartonnage, but further work showed that they belonged to a wooden coffin. This was in a deplorable state of preservation, as may be seen from a view of the burial at this stage of its clearing (Pl. XI, A). At first nothing could be distinguished but a mass of crinkled, shifting gold leaf, and a confused medley of beads, and a very careful scrutiny was needed to make out any of the details of construction. It was anthropoid in shape, and of very light construction, the wood of which it was composed consisting of 2.5 cm. boards of some soft wood, probably sycamore fig. The wood was covered with cloth; outside this there was a thin layer of fine plaster, and the whole was overlaid with gold leaf. The eyes were set in silver frames. Details of the face and the wig pendants and curls were painted, and on the chest, instead of the painted collar usual on such coffins, was the panel of beadwork, inlaid in the plaster and wood. The coffin was not laid flat, but was propped against the west side of the second coffin, in such fashion that the body was turned half over on its left side. This position, a common one with Middle Kingdom burials, was unfortunate from our point of view and increased

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

our difficulties, for as the wood decayed the lid had slipped, the weight of the bead panel in particular dragging it down to the left side. A reconstruction of this coffin forms the frontispiece to the volume. Absolute accuracy in every detail is not claimed—there were certain contours, the outline of the back, for instance, which it was impossible to fix with exactness—but in its main essentials the reconstruction is based on definite evidence which was actually secured either in this, or in a later stage of the clearing (see, for example, the last stage of all, Pl. XII, B, where the curve of the coffin foot can plainly be seen). The restoration of the bead panel was much simplified by the fact that, being inlaid, the position of the beads and pendants was indicated on the wood of the coffin. Plate XIII, B shows the confusion to which the beads of the panel had been reduced by the sliding process mentioned, but it was still possible to secure the order in which the lines of different colored beads, carnelian and blue and green faience, had been arranged. Everything that could be noted was noted before the beads were touched. Melted wax was then poured over them, and the panel, thus strengthened, was taken to the house in three or four sections. There a sheet of cardboard, spread over with a thin layer of plasterine, was prepared, and the general arrangement of the panel with its pendants and lines of beads marked off on it. The beads were then removed from the wax and placed on the board, as nearly as possible in their original positions, each bead being pressed down into the plasterine to keep it in place. Beads, pendants, and carnelian bosses all in position, the plasterine from the unoccupied parts of the board was scraped away, and plaster was poured in to the level of the beads. The wig details were painted on the plaster, and finally gold leaf was applied to all the parts which had been originally gilded. A photograph of the reconstructed panel is given on Plate XX. The coffin was originally locked by a series of metal hooks which projected from the lid, and were caught, as the lid slid home, in pins set in the body of the coffin (see Pl. XXXII, E, and Fig. 24).

Restoration of
the innermost
coffin

The appearance presented by the burial after the removal of the gold and other remains of the lid of the coffin is shown on Plate XI, B. The body lay with its feet close up against the foot of the coffin, with an empty space at the head end of about 15 cm., as though the coffin with the mummy in it had stood upright before it was placed in the tomb. Immediately inside the coffin and overlying the mummy, there was a layer of some resinous material. This was exceedingly irregular in its disposition: by the feet it was 2 cm. thick; in front of the head it was 5 cm. thick; on the higher parts of the body it was only about 5 mm. in thickness, and underneath the body there was practically none at all. It is clear, first, that it was poured in semi-liquid state over the mummy after it was placed in the coffin; and secondly, that this was done only a short while before the coffin was deposited in the second coffin, for the resin had not had time to solidify, and had for the most part drained off the mummy, and run down to its left side. The purpose of this resin treatment

Layer of resin
over the
mummy

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Outer
ornaments
embedded in
the resin

Circlet and
rosettes

Two necklaces

First girdle

Other objects
found outside
the mummy
wrappings

is not easy to explain, but from the evidence of the Dashur burials and of other graves in the same cemetery at Lisht it was a not uncommon practice of the period.¹ It may have been intended to protect and keep in place the more valuable necklaces and other jewelry which were placed on the outside of the mummy wrappings, and which, in this case at any rate, were merely laid in position and not fastened. If this were so, it had signally defeated its own object; for as the resin ran down it dragged the ornaments out of position with it. It may, on the other hand, though we have no record of any analogous usage in early graves, be a mere meaningless survival of an earlier custom. Photograph B on Plate XIV shows the disposition of the resin layer over the head. Traces of wig curls could be seen showing through, and on the lower edge of the resin strands of twisted gold wire from some unknown object were visible. Later, when the head could be moved and the resin carefully picked away from it (Pl. XV, A and B), this unknown object resolved itself into a circlet, composed of three strands of looped wire, which were fastened together at the back and on the forehead (Pl. XXI). This had been dragged completely out of position, and was hanging over the left ear. The wig before-mentioned was decorated with 98 rosettes of gold which were fastened to the curls at regular intervals. There were no necklaces visible, but on breaking the lumps of resin which had congregated below the neck, two, the shell and the "Sa-amulet" necklaces on Plates XXII and XXIII, were found embedded. Luckily, though the necklaces themselves had been dragged out of position, the beads had in many cases kept their relative positions to each other, and the exact order of threading could be determined with tolerable certainty. Similarly, the first girdle on Plates XXII and XXIII was found embedded in the resin layer near the middle of the body. Here, however, the layer was thinner and the beads had become much more scattered. Consequently there was very little evidence to be gained as to their original order, and the restoration had to be largely a matter of conjecture, based to a certain extent on the number of beads of each kind that were found. There were certain fixed points, however, the general arrangement of the six strings, for instance, the gold beads on either side of the larger beads, and the number of small beads between the larger beads. The doubtful points were the number of sections between the gold separators and the order relative to each other in which the various kinds of beads—carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, and ivory—were placed.

Three other objects were found inside the resin layer, but outside the mummy proper—a round object, a dagger, and a bead girdle, with pendants hanging to the knees. The first, a thin disk of resinous material (Pl. XXVIII, H and I), was found lying just above the head. The dagger (Pl. XXXII, C) was not recognized as such until some time after it had been brought in from the tomb. The round boss of gold leaf at the bottom of

¹From coffins now in the Metropolitan Museum it is clear that a similar treatment was in use at Meir, as resin was poured over the anthropoid coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi after placing it in the second coffin, and before depositing the shawls and staves. A Vth dyn. instance of the same treatment was noted by Petrie at Deshasheh (p. 31).

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

the sheath first attracted attention, lying on the left side of the mummy, near the hands. Dagger
The wood of the hilt, however, was in much too tender a condition to be touched, and it was impossible then to make out what the object might be. Wax was accordingly poured over it in large quantities, and it was brought in to the house an indistinguishable mass. There the wax was whittled and melted away by degrees, and eventually it became recognizable as a dagger. The present distance between the top of the sheath and the bottom of the hilt shows the amount of shrinkage that has taken place in the wood.

The bead girdle (Pls. XXVII and XXXI, C) was a very elaborate affair, and had Second girdle
fortunately been but little affected by the resin. It consisted of a band of small beads of various colors arranged in a pattern, in the center of which there was a wooden clasp (?) covered with gold leaf, and inscribed with the name Senebtisi. From this band a number of strings of larger beads hung down to the knees, and at the back there was a conventional tail, consisting of a wooden core covered with beadwork. This girdle is visible in all the photographs taken after the lid of the innermost coffin was removed (Pls. XI, B, and XII, A and B), and the special photograph on Plate XIV, A shows it in greater detail. Fortunately one section of the band still held together, so that the exact arrangement of the pattern could be recorded. This section was preserved as evidence for our reconstruction of the girdle by pouring over it wax just heated to the liquid point. It is shown on Plate XXVIII, G. Upwards of ten thousand beads were used in the girdle, so that its reconstruction involved considerable labor. The band was arranged on a strip of cardboard covered with plasterine, the beads being pushed into the plasterine one by one in the order indicated by the pattern. This done, the cardboard strip was attached to a board, and the pendent strings were re-threaded and fastened each in its position. A full-scale photograph of the clasp is given on Plate XXVIII, E. The wood of which it was composed was in terrible condition and had to be treated with wax. It will be noted that only the letters $\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲛ}$ of the name remain: it is possible that the absence of the second ⲓ may be due to shrinkage. The tail also was in very bad condition, and could be rescued, in short lengths, only by the liberal use of wax (see Pl. XXVII and the restoration in Fig. 34). The disk beads which can be seen among the pendants on Plate XIV, A seemed at first to be connected with the girdle, but it was found afterward that they belonged to an independent string.

The final stage in the clearing had now been reached, and it was possible to note the disposition of the mummy itself (Pl. XII, B). The body had been wrapped in several thicknesses of cloth, but this was in a state of absolute decay, so that the nature of the wrappings could not be made out with any degree of certainty. The innermost wrapping seems to have been a sheet of finest cloth (about 50 by 30 threads to the centimeter). Outside this there were a number of layers, consisting apparently of alternate bandage Mummy wrappings and position of the body

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

and sheet. Of these the latter were all of the same fine quality as the innermost shawl: the bandages were coarser (about 40 by 16 threads to the centimeter). The legs and arms were wrapped independently, and do not seem to have been bound in with the rest of the body, though this point is doubtful. The body, originally laid on its back, was now half turned over on its left side, owing to the propping up of the coffin, so that the head, at the north end of the coffin, exactly faced the eye-panels in the outer coffins. The hands were together over the *pudenda*. These details are all thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Kingdom grave, and have been noted on several other sites.¹ Where there was no anthropoid coffin, the mummy itself was frequently turned slightly over on its left side.

Ornaments within the wrappings

Within the wrappings there were a number of elaborate ornaments, but the cloth was in such bad condition that it was impossible to determine the exact manner in which they were disposed. Some of them seem to have been next the skin, while others were apparently separated from it by a single layer of cloth.

Collars

In the first place, there were no less than three collars. One was of copper, covered back and front with gold leaf, on which a conventional collar design was incised. The gold had worked loose, and the metal was corroded and lost to such an extent that it was impossible to replace it. Photographs of the collar and of the gold are accordingly shown separately (Pl. XXVIII, J and K). The other two collars were of beadwork, one with semicircular shoulder-pieces, and the other with hawks (see Pl. XXIV, A and B, and for reproduction in color Pl. XXV). The beads were very much scattered, but certain evidence was found, both of the number of rows in each collar, and of the order in which the various kinds of beads were disposed. The reconstructions of these collars were made, like that of the bead panel, on plasterine, after their sizes and shapes had been worked out by experimenting with the string lengths of the various types of beads. The shoulder-pieces were of plaster, covered with gold leaf, and had in both cases perished. The restorations, of gilt plaster, were taken, partly from the remains of the gold leaf, and partly from the solid gold examples found at Dashur. The pendants are likewise restorations, the exact sizes and shapes being reproduced from original shells of gold leaf, which in some cases were preserved in an almost perfect condition. The beads are of course all original, with the exception of a few of the gilded plaster ones, these being replaced by lengths of matches, of the same diameter as the original beads, covered with original gold leaf from the tomb.

Third necklace

Round the neck, in addition to the collars, there was a third necklace. This consisted of vase-shaped beads, of carnelian, green felspar, gold leaf on plaster (?), and a composition of some kind, which may have originally been colored, but now resembles ivory.

¹See, for instance, De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dabchour*; Schäfer, *Priestergräber*; Quibell, *Saqqara II*; Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*.

THE CLEARING OF THE TOMB

Several of these latter beads went to powder when touched, and were replaced by substitutes cast in lead. In the middle of this necklace there was a *shen* pendant, with a cloisonné filling of carnelian and blue paste.

On the wrists and ankles next the skin there were the bracelets and anklets shown in Plate XXVI, B. One of the anklets is shown in position on the leg in Plate XV, E and F. In neither case were they long enough to go all round, nor were they fastened in any way; they were simply kept in position by the bandages. The bars between the sections of beads were of wood, covered with gold leaf, and were too far gone in decay to be re-used. They were replaced by fresh pieces of wood, cut down to the proper size, pierced with the requisite number of threading holes, and covered with the original gold leaf. The beads of the anklets were still held in position by the cloth, and were re-strung in exactly their old order. Those of the bracelets were scattered and had to be rearranged. On the left wrist below the bead bracelet there was a plain band of gold leaf on plaster, about 2.5 cm. wide.

Bracelets and
anklets

In addition to these ornaments, the places of which were definitely fixed, a certain number of beads and other ornaments were found in the region of the waist. They are shown on Plate XXVI, A. The faience disk beads in the long string are the ones which were originally thought to have some connection with the large girdle. They were probably an independent girdle. The barrel-shaped carnelian bead was strung provisionally in the center, though it is now certain that it does not belong to this string. The faience cylindrical beads above were found mixed with the girdle beads. In four cases, however, two or more were still adhering to each other, end to end, showing that they belonged to an independent string. Possibly they constituted another bracelet. The carnelian hawk amulet was pierced for suspension as a pendant, but there was no evidence to show to which string it belonged. Similar carnelian hawks occurred in the Dashur graves,¹ and there also they were found near the middle of the body. At the top of the plate there is a curious object of silver, badly corroded. Adhering to the silver there are traces of very fine gold leaf, and to one end there had been attached a faience spherical bead, half of which was broken away by the corrosion of the silver. There were also five faience cylindrical beads which had been strung on copper wire, a copper tube 22 + mm. long by 4.5 mm. in diameter, and a small disk-shaped bead of red jasper.

Other
ornaments

The body was that of a woman, about fifty years old, who could not have exceeded four feet eight inches in height. This shortness of stature was not caused by deformity of any kind, for she was well proportioned and her bones were very delicately formed. Skin was preserved on parts of the body, and there were remains of short dark brown hair. Clear proof of mummification was found, for not only were there distinct traces of the viscera in the Canopic jars, but the body itself was sufficiently well preserved to show clear

The mummy

¹De Morgan, *Dahchour* I, p. 113; *Dahchour* II, p. 54.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

signs of manipulation.¹ The means employed, however, fell far short of the perfected process of the later period; the limbs fell apart when touched, and there had been no attempt to remodel the body by means of minor incisions and subcutaneous stuffing. The method of treatment to which the body of Seneptisi had been subjected was comparatively simple. In the first place, an incision was made through the abdominal wall on the left side, and through this opening the viscera were removed. No attempt was made to remove the brain, as was usually done in the case of later mummies. The nasal cartilages were left intact, but a small amount of resin was placed in front of the eyes, and the lids drawn down over it. Both body and viscera were then placed in a bath of salt, and were left to soak for a considerable period, probably more than a month. On removal from the bath the heart was replaced in the body, but the other organs were stored in the four jars which had been prepared for them. The body-cavity was then stuffed with bundles of linen cloth, mixed with powdered wood or sawdust, and the incision wound was smeared with resin.

At the time the burial was cleared this was one of the earliest instances in which actual evidence of mummification was found. The remains were therefore turned over to Dr. Elliott Smith for examination, and his notes, both on the mummy, and on the contents of the Canopic jars, are given in the Appendix.

¹Dr. Elliott Smith has made an exhaustive study of the history of mummification, and his results have been published in a series of recent papers. Our present example marks a half-way stage between the crude attempts of the Old Kingdom, which cannot in the majority of cases have consisted of much more than a mere soaking of the body, and the elaborate processes of the later Empire period, by which the body was restored to a semblance of its former shape. In the Old Kingdom burial it is very unusual to find anything but the clean bones, and, with very few exceptions, there is nothing but the presence of Canopic jars in the largest graves to suggest that there had been any attempt at embalming at all. The full treatment was, in early times at any rate, much too costly to be within the reach of any but the wealthiest.

CHAPTER III

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

1. *The Outer Coffin*

AS the outer coffin had been made of some soft, native wood, probably sycamore-fig, it had been almost completely destroyed by the humidity in the tomb. Practically nothing remained but the west side, north end, and bottom, all of which were in such a punky state that it was impossible to save them (Pl. VII, A and C). For the reconstruction of the length and width, evidence was found during the final clearing to show that the remains of the bottom board of this coffin with the sides removed projected from 15 mm. to 20 mm. beyond the sides and the ends of the second coffin. The over-all height was given by the fact that this coffin had been run in on its skids until it touched the end wall of the chamber, where a patch of the gold and plaster band from near the north-east corner of the lid had stuck to the rock 118 cm. above the floor, as can be seen in Plates VI, B and C, and VII, A. From this height should be deducted about 15 mm. for the projection of the skids above the floor (see p. 14). The depth inside was given by some gold leaf from the head of the lid of the second coffin which had stuck to the inside of this one at A-B in Fig. 8, about 27 mm. from the top, allowing for the shrinkage of the wood. With this evidence of the scrap of gold leaf on the wall for the over-all height, and that inside for the depth of the box, a simple subtraction gave the height of the lid. The shapes of the boards of the west side and north end could be seen, and it only remained to restore them to their approximate sizes. Of the lid there were fragments of veneer and of the piece C of Fig. 16. The stone eyes of the eye-panel were found, as well as a piece of wood from the north-east corner, with the socket from which one of them had fallen and the outline of part of the gold background (Fig. 10). The photographs of part of the west side and the north end in Plate VIII, C and D, show the position of some of the inscriptions where the copper oxide of the paint had decomposed the wood, and of the bands of gold on the edges where the plaster had left whitish streaks.

Condition and
basis of
restoration

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Construction The coffin was about 211 cm. long, 72 cm. wide, 116.5 cm. high over all outside, and 77.5 cm. deep inside.¹ It was made of boards from 6.5 cm. to 7 cm. thick and for the most part not more than 15 cm. wide (Fig. 8). Some were too short for the whole length

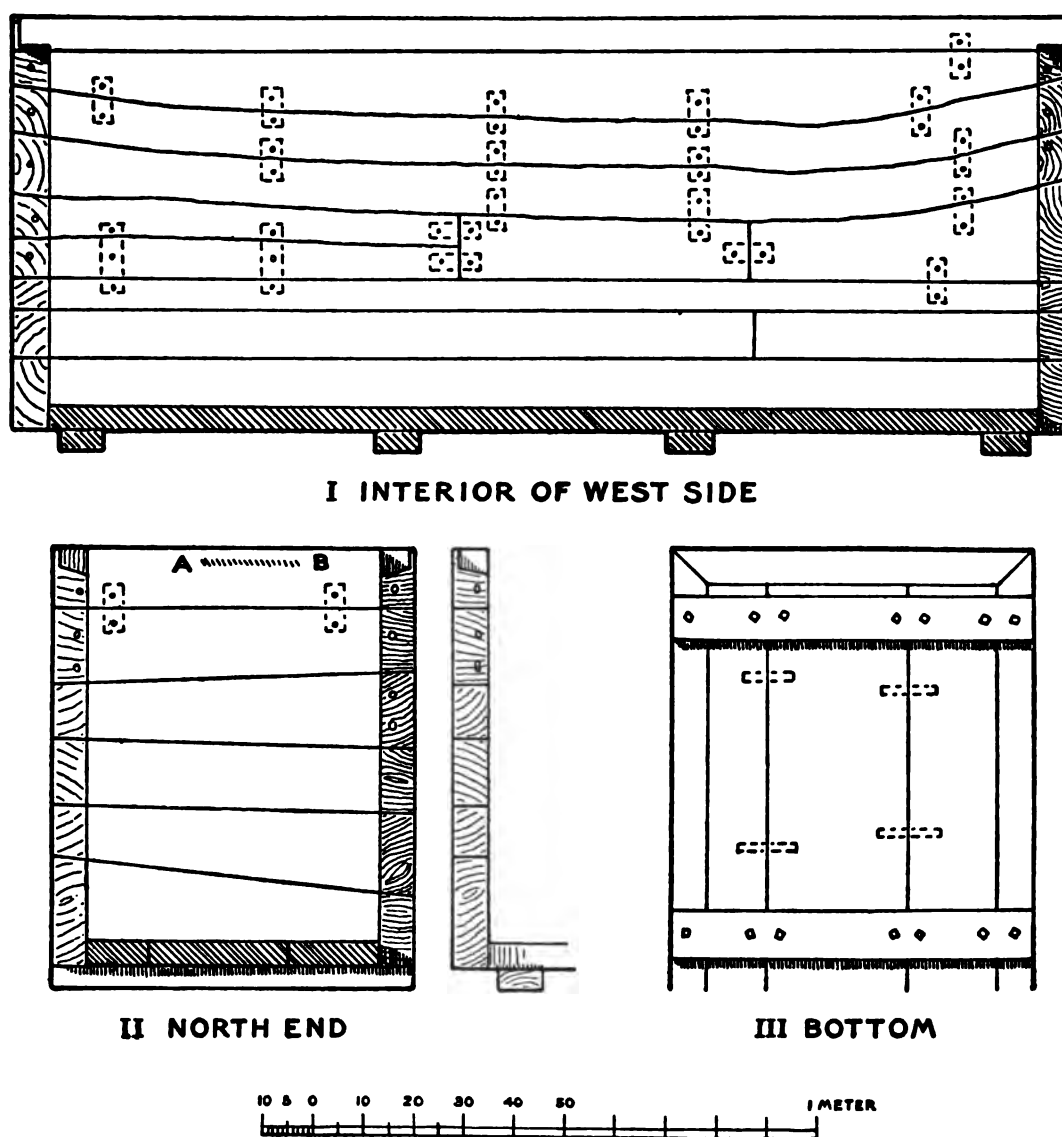


FIG. 8
CONSTRUCTION OF OUTER COFFIN

of the sides and had to be pieced out, while others preserved the outlines of the crooked logs from which they were sawn, and considerable ingenuity had been shown in fitting them with the least possible waste. They were held together with flat wooden dowels from 4 cm. to 9 cm. long, fastened by wooden pegs 1 cm. in diameter, driven through from the outside of the coffin. Enough remained to show that the corner joints were similar

¹All the coffins of this set are rather small. See page 38.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

to those of the second coffin (Figs. 11 and 12). The bottom was made of three boards about 4.5 cm. thick, and 12 cm., 28 cm., and 18 cm. wide respectively, held together with round dowels about 15 mm. in diameter. The sides of the coffin fitted around it, and were attached to it with pegs driven from the outside, and with four cleats, 9 cm. by 4 cm. in section, which ran the full width of the coffin and were fastened to the bottom and under edges of the sides with square-sectioned pegs, 15 mm. thick (Fig. 8, III). The lid must have been similar to that of the Canopic box (see p. 34), with veneer over the curved part in strips about 10 cm. wide.

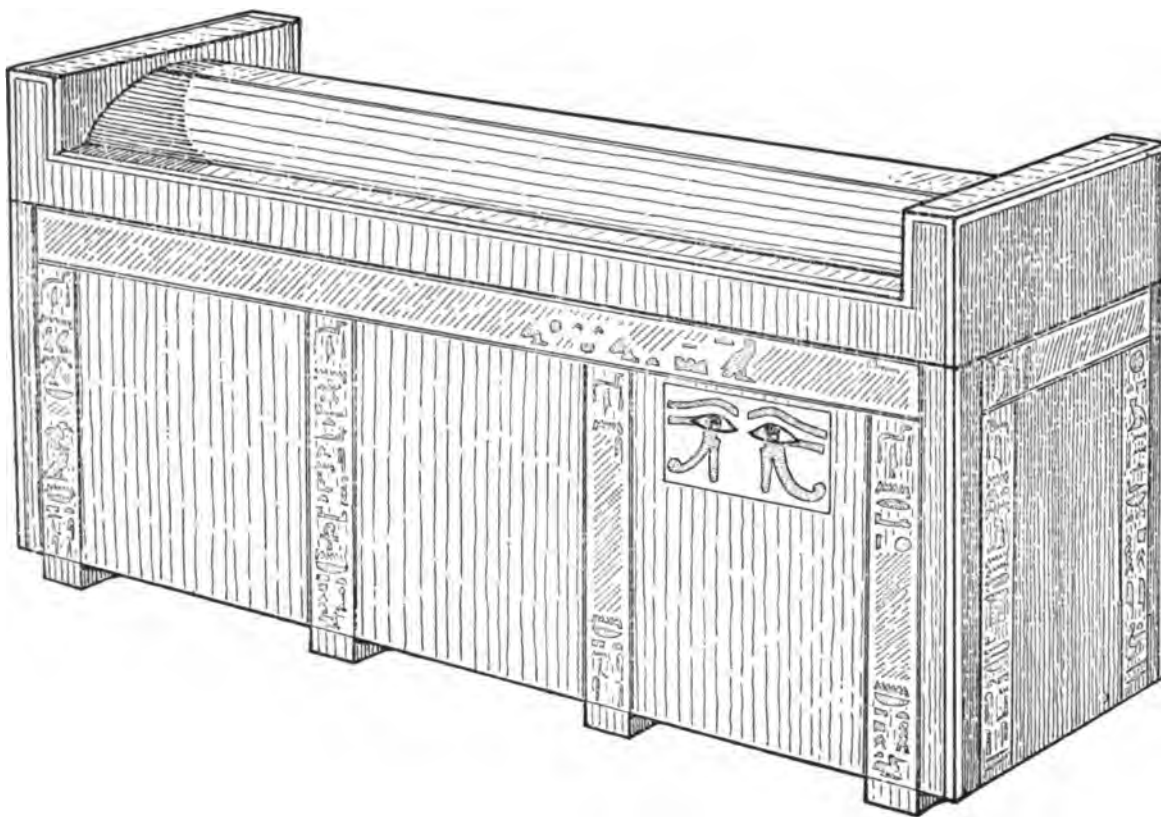


FIG. 9
THE OUTER COFFIN RESTORED

All of the cracks and joints, inside and out, were stopped with salmon-pink plaster, and the knots were cut out of the boards and the holes were filled with insets of clean-grained wood held with little pegs. The inside was then given a coating of black pitch. The outside was washed with white to give it a smooth surface and then painted Venetian red, probably to imitate cedar. Around the edges there had been stripes of gold in every respect similar to those on the second coffin (see p. 31 and Fig. 15), except that in this case they were only 17 mm. wide and were ruled with four lines instead of five. So far as could be seen, the eye-panel was like that of the second coffin, in this case being about 45 cm. long, by 18.5 cm. high.

Decoration

THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI

Inscriptions There were bands of inscription down the center of the lid, around the top of the box, and in vertical columns down the sides and ends, arranged in the usual manner of this period (Fig. 9).¹ They were all turquoise blue outlined with black; but while those on the box were painted directly on the red of the coffin, the band on the lid had a background of gray. Unfortunately so little remained of all the inscriptions in this tomb, except those on the second coffin, that there is hardly sufficient basis for a comparison of them with others of a similar type. However, similarities can be seen, among others, to some of the Dashur coffins in two of the columns on this one,² which read:

“*Recitation: Duamutef it is who goes on the left³ of the Lady of the House Hapi- [sit, justified]*” (Fig. 10, west side).

“*Recitation: Nut it is who brings thee Nephthys under thy [head]⁴ Lady of the House Senebtisi [justified]*” (Fig. 10, north end).

Parallels Similar coffins have been found at:

LISHT: Early XIIth dyn.; Burial 799 (M.M.A. Excavations not yet published).

Fragments of a similar coffin and of an anthropoid, *q. v.* below, page 47.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III; *Princess Nubhotep* (De Morgan, *Dahchour I*, Pl. XXXVI).

Apparently identical construction of lid and same arrangement of inscriptions.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III (De Morgan, *ibid.*, II, p. 102, Fig. 151).

A very small-scale drawing suggestive of outer coffin of Senebtisi.

MEIR: About the reign of Amenemhat III; *Nephthys* (M.M.A. 11.150.15A. Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales XI*, p. 11; *M.M.A. Handbook of Egyptian Rooms*, 1st ed., Fig. 27).

Has flat lid and elaborate false-door and eye-panel combined, but otherwise is almost identical with that of Senebtisi. Has black pitch inside; outside is painted red with inscriptions and gold stripes on edges as in present case.

MEIR: Same date(?); *Hapi Ankbtifi*, second coffin (M.M.A. 12.183.11B).



False-door and eye-panel as above; yellow stripes instead of gold on edges and, as it is of cedar, it is not painted red. But it has pitch inside; painted inscriptions much as in this case, and curved lid with flat terminals.

2. The Second Coffin

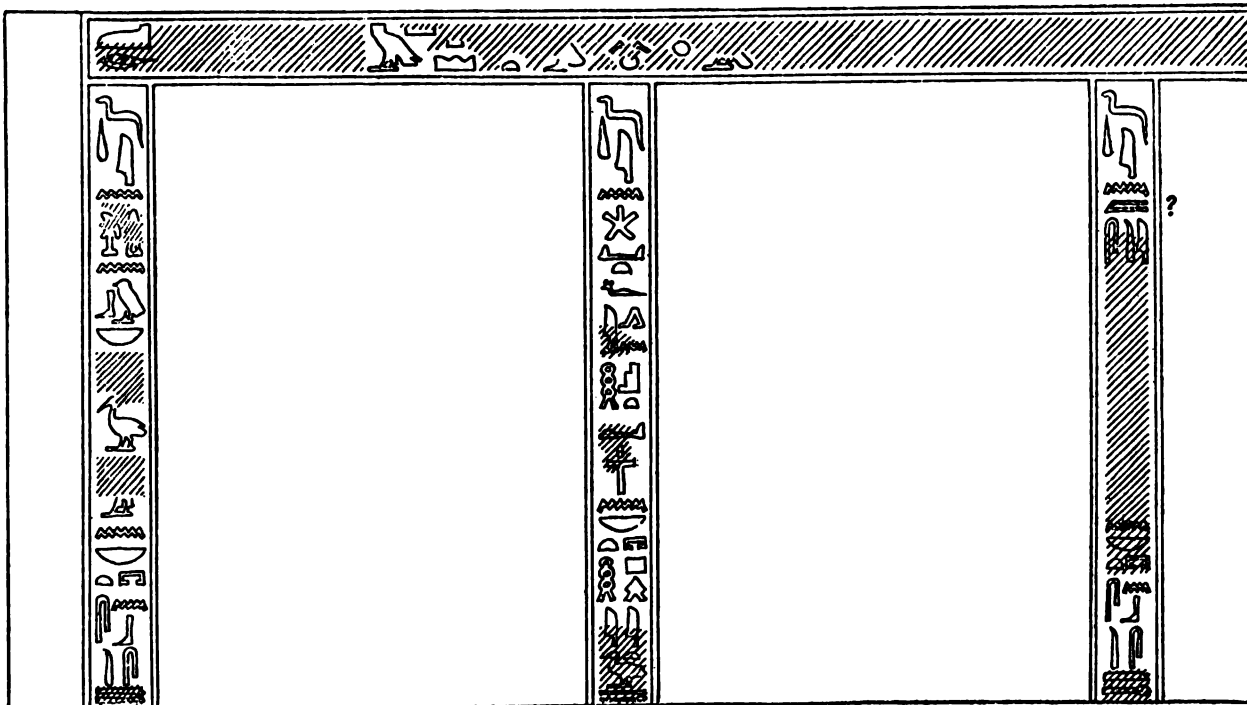
Condition Owing to the excellent cedar of which it was made, the second coffin had suffered comparatively little and the measurements could therefore be made directly from it.

¹See Lacau, *Sarcophages I*, p. iii.

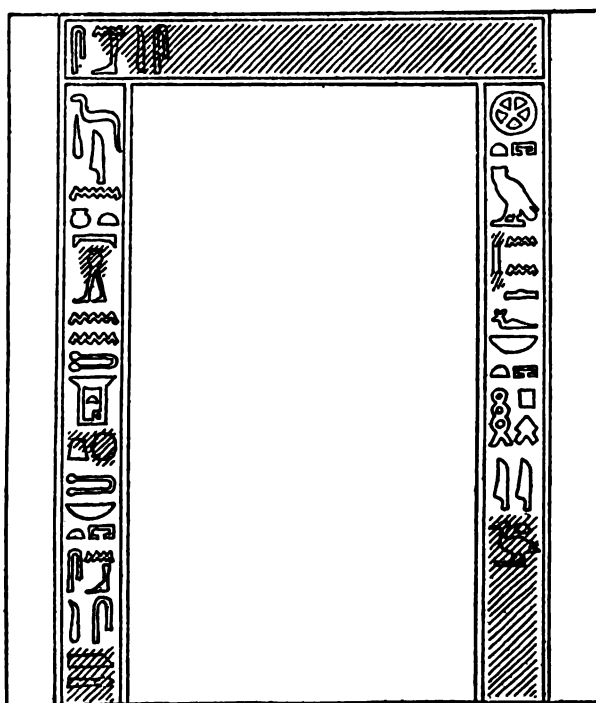
²See Lacau, *ibid.*, 28101, 28104, and 28105.

³Although this inscription occurs on the *right* side of the coffin and body, it does not seem possible to read  for .

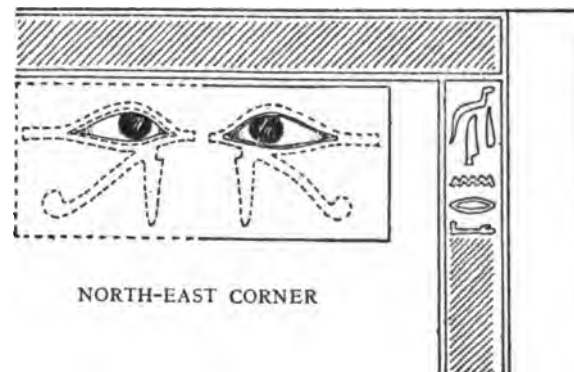
⁴Nephthys at the head is not unusual in similar texts. In any case   is improbable here.



WEST SIDE



NORTH END



NORTH-EAST CORNER

FIG. 10
INSCRIPTIONS ON OUTER COFFIN

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Condition
continued

The entry of drier and hotter air into the tomb after it had been opened resulted in a certain amount of shrinkage and warping which has been overcome as much as possible in the Museum repair-shop, and the bottom and the cleats, which were found to have become decomposed from contact with the ground after the practical disappearance of the outer coffin, were restored. The stucco by which the gold leaf had been attached

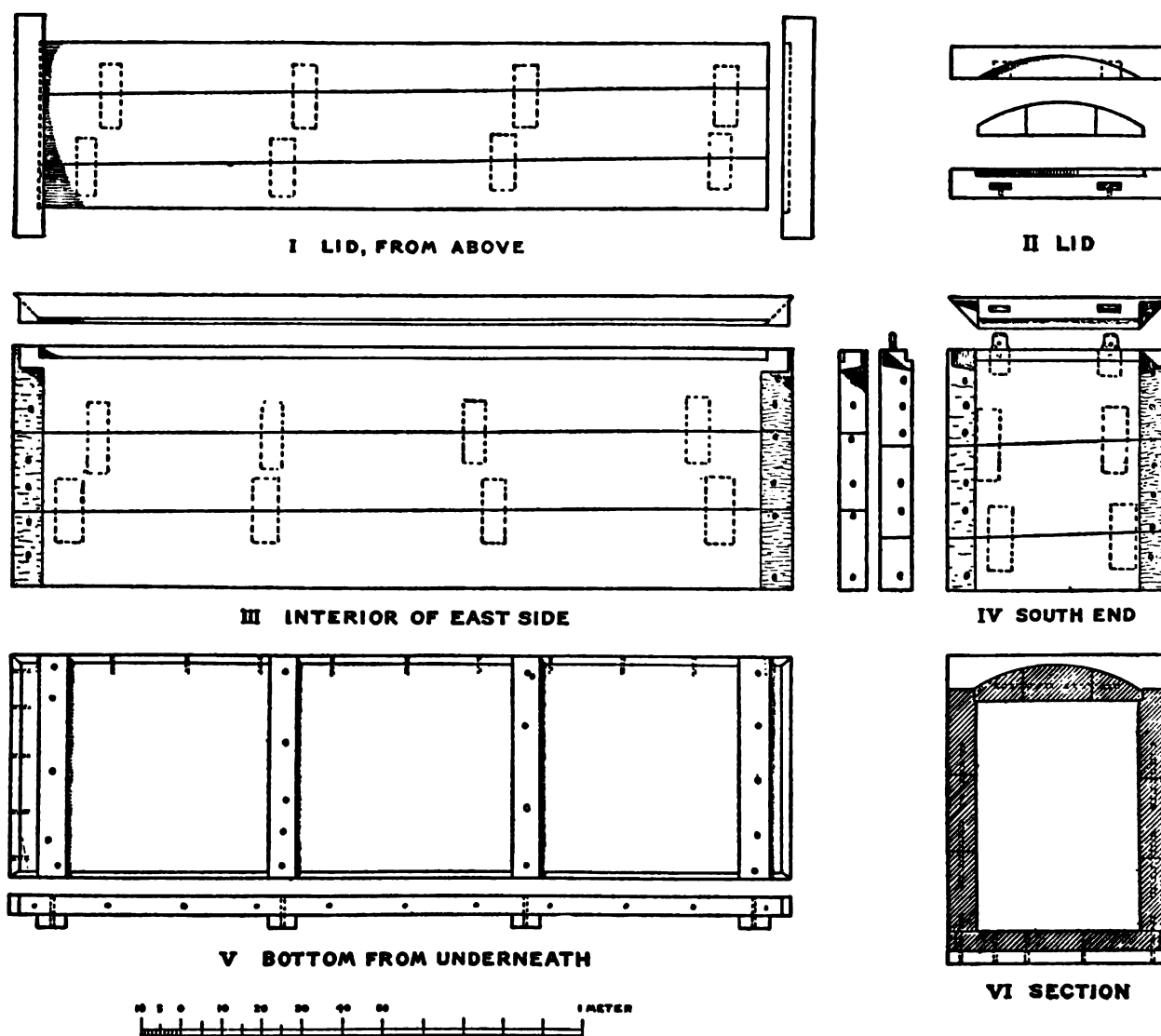


FIG. 11

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SECOND COFFIN

had softened, and had to be removed before the gold could be replaced, and the wooden frames and blue stucco parts of the eyes had to be remade, following the fragments found. Except for these minor repairs, the coffin as now exposed in the Metropolitan Museum is intact.¹ Its condition at the time of its discovery is shown in Plate VII, C, and as restored and placed on exhibition, in Plate XVII.

¹Accession number M.M.A. 08.200.45. For other details of the restoration see above, page 12.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

The length outside was 194 cm., the width 55 cm., and the height over all 75 cm., of which 57 cm. was the inside depth (Fig. 11). The cedar wood of which the sides and ends were made was in heavy planks averaging 7.3 cm. in thickness with no thinning toward the bottom, as was frequently the case in Middle Kingdom coffin making. In each of the sides were three boards from 11.5 cm. to 22 cm. wide, fastened together with flat hardwood dowels, 14 cm. to 18 cm. long, 4 cm. to 5 cm. wide, and 1 cm. thick, driven in tight enough to hold without pegs. The ends were made of less regular pieces from 5 cm. to 23.5 cm. wide, fastened together in the same manner. The joining of the corners was a modification of the typical Middle Kingdom mitred joint with half dove-tail mortise and tenon at the top (Fig. 12). By shortening the tenon 1 cm. and not cutting the mortise right through as was usually done, the joint was completely masked, and the mitering seemed to run uninterruptedly from top to bottom. The corners were further held together with round hardwood pegs, 13 mm. in diameter, driven in holes drilled diagonally through sides and ends. The bottom was a single plank of cedar in which

Construction
of the box

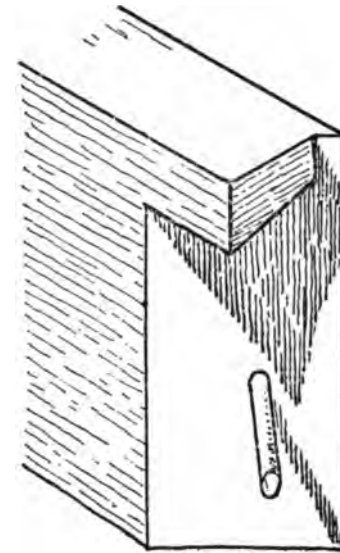


FIG. 12

THE TENON JOINT OF THE SECOND
COFFIN. SCALE 1:5

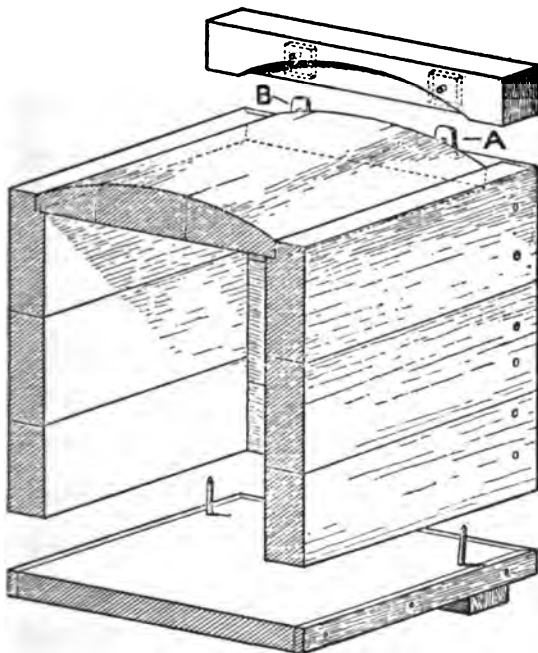


FIG. 13

ATTACHMENT OF BOTTOM AND COVER OF SECOND
COFFIN

the grain was poorer than in the pieces selected for the sides and lid, 4.5 cm. thick, 189 cm. long, and 52 cm. wide. Its edges were veneered with strips of finer cedar, 15 cm. thick for the sides and 2.5 cm. thick for the ends, mitred at the corners and attached with hardwood pegs 8 mm. thick (Fig. 11, V). Across the under side there were four cleats 3 cm. by 7 cm. in section. The bottom being the full width of the coffin, it was fastened to the sides and ends with pegs driven through from underneath, an attachment which is plainly a weaker construction than that of the outer coffin (Fig. 11, VI).

The cover consisted of three independent pieces: the lid proper, 181.5 cm. long, 42 cm. wide, convex in section with a thickness of 8.5 cm. in the center and 2.8 cm. at the sides; and two terminals, each 55 cm. long, 7 cm. thick, and 8 cm. high (Figs. 11 and 13). The inner edges of the sides and ends of the

Construction
of the cover

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

box had been cut back 1 cm. to a depth of 2.8 cm. so that, when the lid had been dropped into the space thus prepared for it, only its convex upper surface showed. The inner sides of the two terminals were cut out to a depth of 2.5 cm. to fit over the ends of the convex surface of the lid. As the terminals were joined to the ends of the box with dowels pegged through (Fig. 13, A and B, and Pl. XXXII, D), they locked the lid securely in place.¹ Inside the head terminal there was a wooden swivel, 29 mm. long and 8 mm. wide, turning on a peg 4 mm. thick into a slot above (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXII, D). It appears to have been in every way similar to the ones described below on page 40, but in this case it could have served no practical purpose as there was no slot below to receive it. Either it is part of some method of lid fastening which was started in this case and then abandoned, or it is a survival from an earlier type of coffin, put here merely as a matter of tradition.²

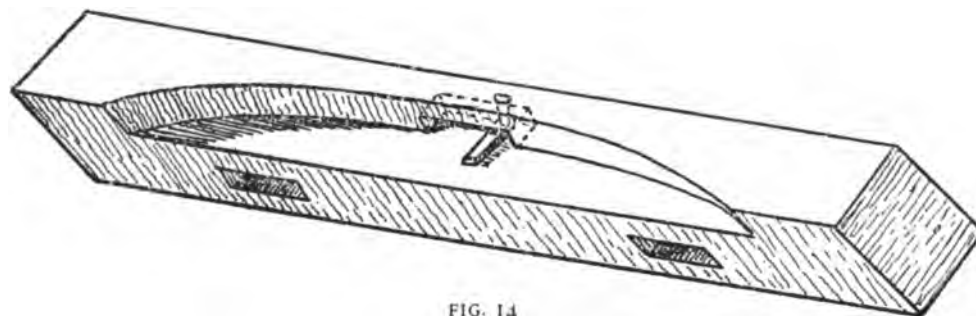


FIG. 14

NORTH TERMINAL OF COVER WITH SWIVEL IN POSITION. SCALE 1 : 5

Decoration

The chief emphasis in the decoration of this coffin was in the color and texture of the cedar wood, relieved with the yellow of the gold. All of the joints had been made with extreme care and were practically invisible when the coffin was first discovered. The wood had been rubbed down to a very soft, smooth surface. The few faults that remained visible were stopped with red plaster and the light streaks in the wood stained. The inside was given a coat of black pitch.

The eye-panel on the left side near the head was a simple rectangle 38 cm. long and 15.2 cm. high. The eyes were made up of almost flat sheets of stone, obsidian for the pupils and opaque calcareous stone for the whites, the latter stippled red in the corners. The pieces were fastened together with a blackish gum and set into tray-like, wooden frames, 6 mm. thick, the edges of which represented the eyelids. In this form they were set into sockets cut in the wood of the coffin. The panel around them was then covered with a very thin layer of fine white stucco to receive the sizing, and on it were sketched the eyebrows and the lines under the eyes. Afterward the field of the panel

¹ The diagrams given in Lacau, *Sarcophages* 28028 and 28029, show essentially similar methods of lid construction. The majority of covers of this shape, however, are made with the lid and terminals in one.

² It might possibly go back to a type similar to that shown by Lacau, *ibid.*, 28031, with a swivel in the fixed terminal to prevent the lid from being withdrawn toward the feet.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

was covered with gold leaf, and around the whole was drawn a narrow black line. Following the gilding, the eyebrows and the lines underneath were modeled in plaster in low relief 1 mm. to 2 mm. high and painted blue.

Around all the edges ran bands of gold 32 mm. wide. The same stucco base was laid as in the case of the eye-panel. Each band was then lightly incised with five lines ruled parallel to the edges, and the chequers which resulted from their crossing at the corners were repeated every 16 cm. along the sides. The plaster was then sized and the gold leaf rubbed in to show the rulings¹ (Fig. 15).

The only inscription on the coffin was on a gold band 66 mm. to 68 mm. wide, down the center of the lid. The technique of the gold work was the same as that of the bands

Inscription

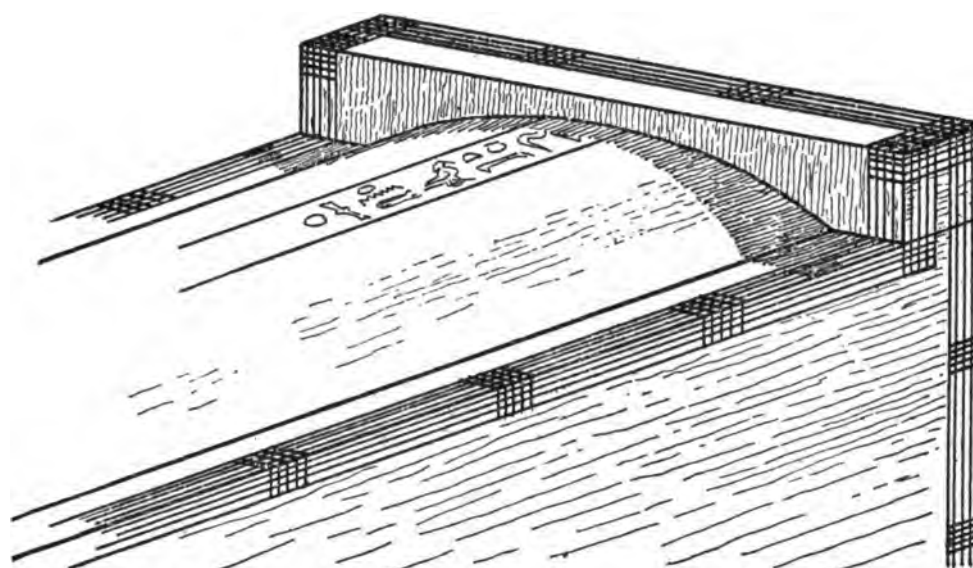


FIG. 15

ARRANGEMENT OF GOLD LEAF DECORATION ON SECOND COFFIN

on the edges. The signs were inscribed in the plaster with a blunt-pointed instrument and the details with a finer point, after which the gold leaf was rubbed in until the inscription seemed to be incised in the gold itself. The sheets of gold leaf used here were larger than on the rest of the coffin, being the full width of the band and from 21 cm. to 42 cm. long.² The inscription, shown in facsimile on Plates XVIII and XIX, was as follows:

"Recitation: O Nut, thou wast glorious and powerful in the womb of thy Mother Tefnut ere thou wert born. She causes the Mistress of the House, Sit-Hapi, justified, to be every

¹Similar gold stripes on the edges were common at Dashur. It is difficult to say whether they were purely decorative in origin or not, but it is possible that they were related to a type of ornamentation for the edges of coffins and Canopic boxes which represents bands of reed matting bound at intervals with cord; cf. the stone Canopic box from the Gallery of the Princesses (De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 73, Fig. β) and the granite sarcophagus of Amenemhat-Seneb in Florence. What may be a connecting link is the Canopic box from Beni-Hasan (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, Fig. 185) with somewhat similar bands in color.

²The same technique was used on the coffins of Nubhotep and King Hor at Dashur.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

God eternally. She imbues the Mistress of the House, Seneptisi, justified, with life, stability and power so that she die not eternally."¹

Parallels

Similar coffins have been found at:

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat II; *The Princesses Ita and Kbnuit* (De Morgan, *Dahbour* II, pp. 46, 50, and 55), *Ita* and *Sithathormerit* (De Morgan, *ibid.*, pp. 71 et seq. = Lacau, *Sarcophages* 28101).

The lids are curved but without terminals and the inscriptions are not inscribed on gold outside but are painted inside. However, they are cedar coffins with gold stripe decoration, closely related to that of Seneptisi.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III; *Princess Nubhotep* (De Morgan, *ibid.*, I, p. 110, Pl. XXVI = Lacau, *ibid.*, 28104).

Lid constructed like outer coffin of Seneptisi(?), and columns of inscriptions on sides and ends. Otherwise, technique and appearance identical with that of Seneptisi.

DASHUR: Same date; *King Hor* (De Morgan, *ibid.*, I, p. 101, Pl. XXXVI = Lacau, *ibid.*, 28100 and 28106).

Flat lid, and inscriptions the same as those of Nubhotep. Otherwise, technique and appearance identical with that of Seneptisi.

MEIR: Same date (?); *Hapi Ankhtifi*, second coffin (M.M.A. 12.183.11B).

A cedar coffin with curved lid, decoration similar to outer coffin of Seneptisi (see above, p. 26). A provincial adaptation.

Stone sarcophagi with the curved lid and flat terminals were frequent at Dashur but have been omitted from these lists of parallels. However, the magnificent red granite sarcophagus made by order of Senusert II for Amenemhatseneb and now in Florence (*Catalogo Generale*, Ser. VI, Vol. I, p. 438) deserves mention. It has the same lid and simple eye-panel; the edges are represented as bound with matting, and the inscriptions, following around the edges, are as sparingly used as in most of the coffins above.

3. The Canopic Box

Condition

Although the Canopic box was almost entirely made of the same cedar as the second coffin, it was too decomposed for preservation. Where softer wood had been used it had been reduced almost to a powder, but the principal damage was done on the cedar itself by the chemical composition of the paint in the inscriptions. Enough remained, however, to show the construction and a large part of the decoration.

Construction
of the box

The Canopic box was 55 cm. square in plan outside and 62 cm. high over all. Inside it was almost cubical, 45 cm. square in plan and 44 cm. deep (Fig. 16). It was made of the same cedar as the second coffin, in boards 5 cm. thick for the sides and 3 cm. thick for the bottom, except that the east side and curved lid were made of some native wood,

¹Translation kindly made by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner, who notes that this is Pyramid-text (ed. Sethe) 779 with a small addition.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

possibly sycamore-fig, covered with cedar outside. On the east side the soft wood boards were 3.5 cm. thick with a veneer of 1.5 cm. attached with wooden pegs.¹

The separate boards of the sides and bottom were joined together with round peg dowels 1 cm. in diameter and 5 cm. long. The construction of the corners was similar

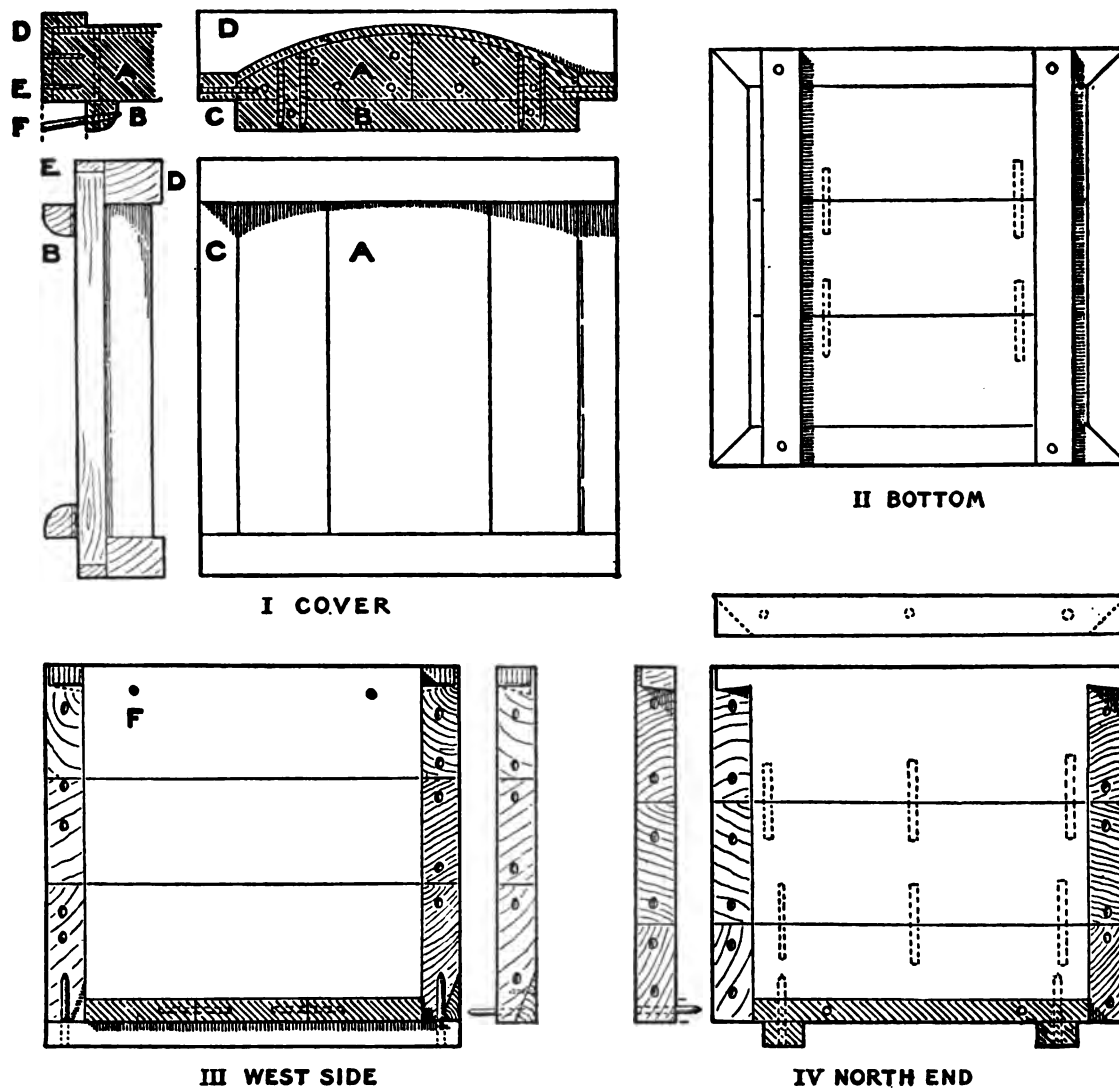


FIG. 16
CONSTRUCTION OF CANOPIC BOX. SCALE 1 : 10

to that of the two coffins described above except that the dovetailed tenons had a double bevel. The bottom was of the same type as that of the outer coffin, with two cleats, each 5 cm. by 3.5 cm. in section. The box was not divided into compartments inside. Instead a + shaped frame of wood, 42 cm. long on each side, made of two sticks 4 cm.

¹Veneering with a finer wood was not uncommon in the carpentry of Middle Kingdom coffins. Pre-XIIth examples are noted by Quibell, *Saqqara*, 1906-07, p. 19, etc.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

wide and 1.5 cm. thick, was laid between the shoulders of the jars after they had been placed in the box (Fig. 17). To make it fit more securely between the jars, the sides of the frame had been slightly cut out.¹

Construction
of the cover

In construction the cover was similar to that of the outer coffin, and, as it was the better preserved of the two, has been chosen for description. Although it presented the same appearance as the cover of the second coffin when closed, apparently having a curved lid set within the two sides of the box, ending in flat terminals (Fig. 18), in reality it was made on an entirely different principle. In this case the curved lid, the terminals, and what appeared to be the tops of the sides of the box were all joined together making one cover. The central curved lid

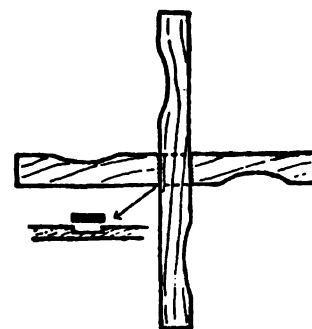


FIG. 17
CROSS-PIECE INSIDE
CANOPIC BOX
SCALE 1 : 10

(A in Fig. 16, I) was 52 cm. long, 45 cm. in width, as was the box inside, and in thickness 9.5 cm. in the center and 3.5 cm. at the sides. It was made of two blocks of sycamore with a veneer of cedar 1 cm. thick on the upper surface. Two cleats (B) fitting snugly within the box when the lid was placed on it, had been pegged to the sycamore blocks with the peg heads hidden under the veneer. To each side of the curved lid was attached a strip of cedar (C) 5 cm. wide and 3.5 cm. thick, which covered, and seemed to be part of, the sides of the box when the lid was in position. To each end of the lid was then fastened a terminal (D) 8 cm. high and 5.5 cm. thick, covering the curved lid for a distance of 4 cm. from the end. Finally, two thin strips of cedar (E) 1.5 cm. thick and 3.5 cm. wide covered the exposed ends of (A) and (C), below the terminals. When the lid was in position, pegs (F) were driven through holes in the ends of the box into the cleats (B), and the box was securely closed.

Decoration

Inside, the cracks were filled with salmon-pink plaster. Outside, the wood was given the same smooth polish as that of the second coffin, but afterward it seems to have been painted the same red as the outer one. The gold stripes on the edges were 25 mm. wide, ruled with four lines. The inscriptions were all painted and arranged like those on the outer coffin, except that on the ends the horizontal and vertical columns were continuous and the field was filled with representations of offerings and short hieroglyphic notes.² The decorations were first sketched in in red, then painted in with some color which left a whitish stain on the wood (blue?), and finally outlined with a black line $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. wide.

Inscriptions

Nothing could be made of the inscription down the center of the lid except that it began "*Recitation . . .*" and ended "*. . . Senebtisi.*"

¹A somewhat similar construction was employed in the box of Karenen (early Middle Kingdom, in Quibell, *Saqqara*, 1906-07, p. 10) where "two-thirds down are a pair of crossed slats," fastened permanently in this case.

²Long lists of offerings are inscribed on the Canopic box of Hapi Ankhtifi (see below). Bandages are represented on the XIIIth dyn. boxes of Sebekemsaf (Borchardt, *J. Z.* 1894, p. 23), Dhwti (Erman, *J. Z.* 1892, p. 45), and Hemenhotep (Cairo 4731).

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

The inscriptions¹ on the north end (Fig. 19) were: top and left, "O Osiris Sit-Hapi . . . given to thee that thy flesh should live upon thy provisions freed from evil." Top and right, "O, Osiris Senebtisi . . . Horus on his . . . I have placed him . . ." Within the panel, "All manner of provisions. Four-fold cloth, six fold cloth, three fold cloth, . . . cloth.² Neith. Re, first and third going to H3t-bit. Nephthys the southern mooring post (mnit)."³

Inscriptions
continued

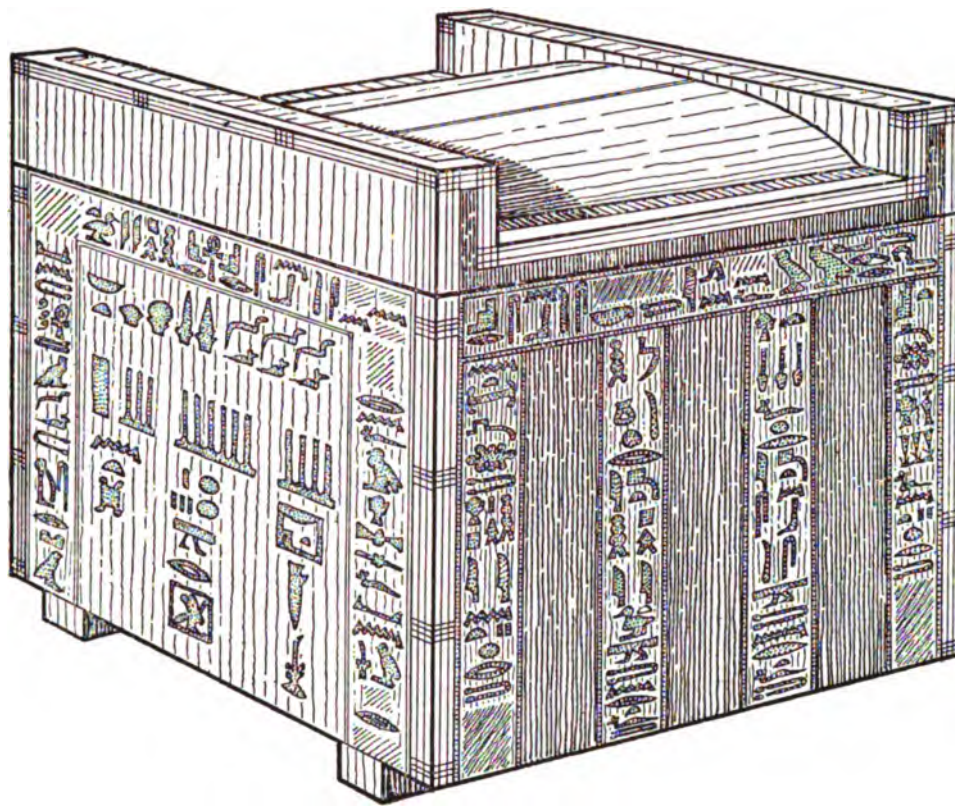




FIG. 18

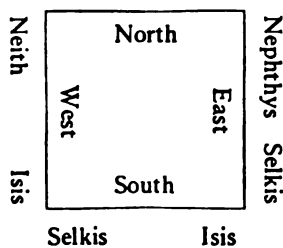
THE CANOPIC BOX RESTORED

The south-end inscriptions are on the same model as those of the north end, but for the most part unintelligible in their present condition. Inside the panel, "... cloth,

¹The greater part of these translations is due to the kindness of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner.

²Compare Lepsius, *Aelt. Text.*, 36 = Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o* 8, Taf. II (A. H. G.). A close parallel also is Lacau, *Sarcophages* I, p. 111, Nos. 18-23. The "... cloth" on this and the other end of the box is probably either  or  cloth in Lacau, *ibid.*, Index, VII.

Nephthys Neith



³In reference to the appearance of "Isis the northern mooring post" on the south end of the box, and "Nephthys the southern mooring post" on the north end, Dr. Gardiner suggests that the designations of the ends should be reversed. The orientation here used, however, is that of the box as it was found in the tomb, with the inscriptions running parallel to those of the nearby coffin, away from the eye-panel. Irregularities on the coffins are not uncommon (see above, p. 26, where "Duamutef goes on the left" is written on the right of the outer coffin). On the other hand, there may be some significance in the arrangement of the names of the goddesses on the box, as shown by the accompanying diagram, where Nephthys and Neith are paired on the north, and Isis and Selkis on the south.

THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI

Inscriptions
concluded

three fold cloth, six fold cloth, four fold cloth. Selkis. Re, second and fourth going to H3t-bit. Isis the northern mooring post."

The east-side inscription at the top: "O Osiris Senebtisi, Gebeb¹ has given [to thee?] his heritage of Atum. . . ."

The four vertical columns at the extreme ends of the east and west sides are a usual form of Canopic-jar inscription later in the Twelfth Dynasty.² In turn they are as follows: "O, Nephthys extend thy protection over Mesti who is (here) with thee [honored Senebtisi or Sit-Hapi?]." "O, Selkis extend thy protection over Duamutef who is (here) with thee. . . ." "O Neith extend thy protection over Hapi who is (here) [with thee. . . ." "O, Isis [extend thy protection] over [Kehepsenu]- f [who is (here) with thee. . . ."

The east-side central vertical inscriptions read, "They give adoration (?w3s-sn) to the honored Senebtisi: 'I bring thee to thy father.'" "...Duamutef to the honored Sit-Hapi: I bring thee [to thy father]."

Parallels

Canopic boxes are regularly fashioned after the model of the coffins they accompany during the Middle Kingdom (see below, p. 52, note 2). The boxes below, therefore, have the same characteristics as the coffins already mentioned.

DASHUR: Between Senusert II and Amenemhat III (De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 57).

A box seemingly similar to that above, from the Gallery of the Princesses.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III; *King Hor* and *Princess Nubhotep* (De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, pp. 102 and 115, Pl. XXXVI).

MEIR: Reign of Amenemhat III?; *Hapi Ankbtifi* (M.M.A. 12.183.141).


BENI HASAN: Late XIIth dyn.; Tomb 134 (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, Fig. 187).

4. The Anthropoid Coffin

Condition and
basis of
restoration

The soft wood of which the anthropoid coffin was made had either completely decomposed to a brown dust, or at best was in a punky state, making it practically impossible to save those few fragments which could be identified. Nevertheless, confused and unintelligible as the remains were at first sight (Pl. XI, A), it was possible to determine the principal dimensions with a good deal of accuracy. The restoration of the shape and construction is shown in Fig. 23, and of the decoration in the Frontispiece.

The positions of the fragments of the head and feet of the coffin as they lay undisturbed gave the total height, checked by the dimensions of the face and decoration on the chest, and the distance measured from the bottom of the beadwork to the feet. The general contour of the front, in the side elevation (Fig. 23, II), was given by the

¹A rare phonetic spelling of  (A. H. G.). ²Compare Reisner *Ä. Z.*, 1899, p. 64, type 1b.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

remains of the left side as it lay under the body (Pls. XI, B and XII, A and B). The width of the shoulders (Fig. 23, I) was determined from the restoration of the beadwork, and of the feet, from the piece of wood across the front of the toes, which was intact.

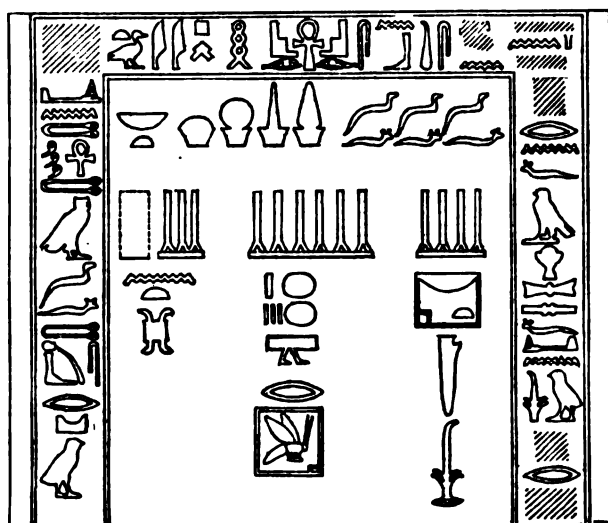


FIG. 19

INSCRIPTIONS ON NORTH END OF CANOPIC BOX

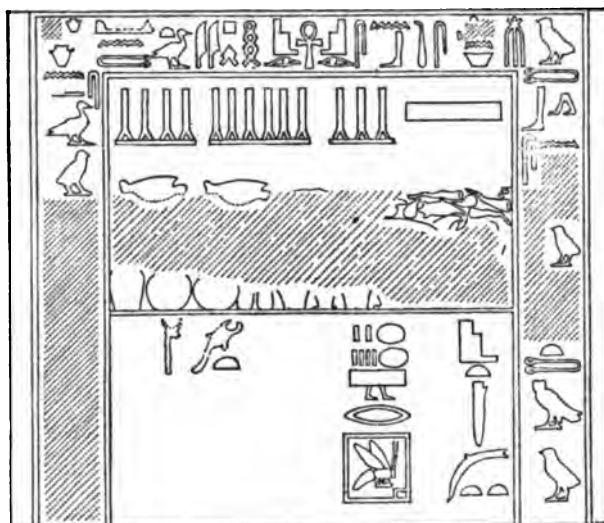


FIG. 20

INSCRIPTIONS ON SOUTH END OF CANOPIC BOX

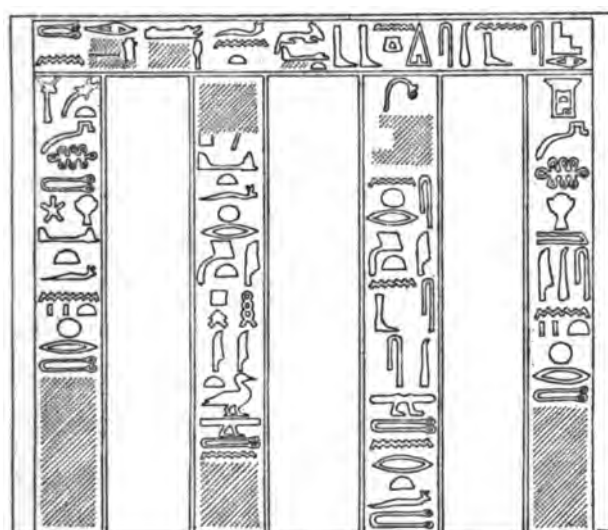


FIG. 21

INSCRIPTIONS ON EAST SIDE OF CANOPIC BOX

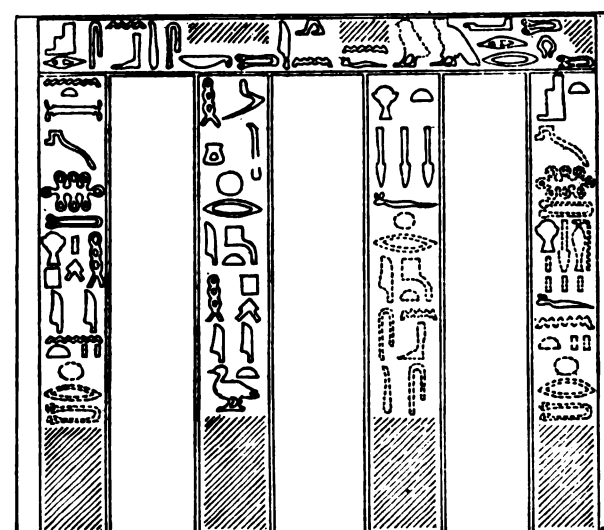


FIG. 22

INSCRIPTIONS ON WEST SIDE OF CANOPIC BOX

Both of these dimensions were checked by the convergence of the stripes in the gold foil. The thickness of the sides was shown by the metal lock pegs which had been driven through the wood and bent over inside the coffin. The vertical dimensions of the forehead, face, and neck were preserved in the wooden block from which they were carved, and the width of the face could be estimated from the stone eyes. The model-

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

ing at E was given by the face block, at F by the outline of the side in Plate XV, A and B, and the whole shape of the head-dress except the flap behind could be restored from the rulings in the gold leaf. With these points established, little was left to conjecture except the modeling of the back in Fig. 23, II, the exact contours between the shoulders and feet in I, and to some extent the outlines of the sections III and IV, all of which were based on the parallels listed on page 47, and especially on the coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi, which showed close similarities to all the known parts of that of Seneptisi.

Evidence
on which
decoration was
restored

While most of the wood of the coffin was completely decomposed, the faience and stone inlays were perfectly preserved and the gold foil and some fragments of the stucco were in a condition to show most of the details of the decoration. The blue of the Frontispiece restoration was copied from flakes of plaster from which the outer faded crust had been scraped away. All of the incised lines on the body and head-dress were taken from pieces of the stucco and gold foil, and the features from bits of plaster found in the débris. In restoring the decoration on the breast a start was made with the bead-work, after a general idea of the scheme had been gathered from the remains as they lay (Pl. XIII, B). Samples of the beads preserving their original arrangement were waxed in position, and the whole was then collected and reset in plaster. The shape and size of the striped pendants of the wig could be estimated from the stripes preserved on fragments of the plaster, and thus the outer curve of the petal pendants of the collar and the curls was established. A piece of wood was found with the inlay hole for one of the upper carnelian bosses and holes for some of the petal pendants of the collar, and a bit of plaster showed part of one of the curls, the blue and gold circles around the other upper boss, and the blue stripe beside the pectoral. The positions of the two upper bosses were thus fixed. The lower ones were placed by the plaster and gold foil. The neck was completely gone, but the beads which had been inlaid in it were found lying horizontally just above the top of the collar and their position was made certain by the other examples cited below on page 46, note 3. The final rearrangement of the whole breast decoration, with the original beads and bosses, and the painted parts restored,¹ is shown in Plate XX.

Construction

The coffin was about 168 cm. long, 47 cm. wide across the shoulders, and 30 cm. across the feet. In the section A—B the bottom was from 14 cm. to 16 cm. high outside, and the cover as much as 20 cm., in contrast to the Empire coffins with their flat lids. The length was unusually short and yet it must have been about 15 cm. more than was absolutely necessary to hold the wrapped mummy.² The wood of which it

¹Museum accession number M.M.A. 08.200.44. For other details on the restoration, see above, page 16.

²This excess must not be taken as evidence that this was a coffin purchased ready-made from an undertaker's stock, but should rather be considered as an intentional expedient to prevent its seeming too insignificantly small at any ceremonies in which it might have appeared.

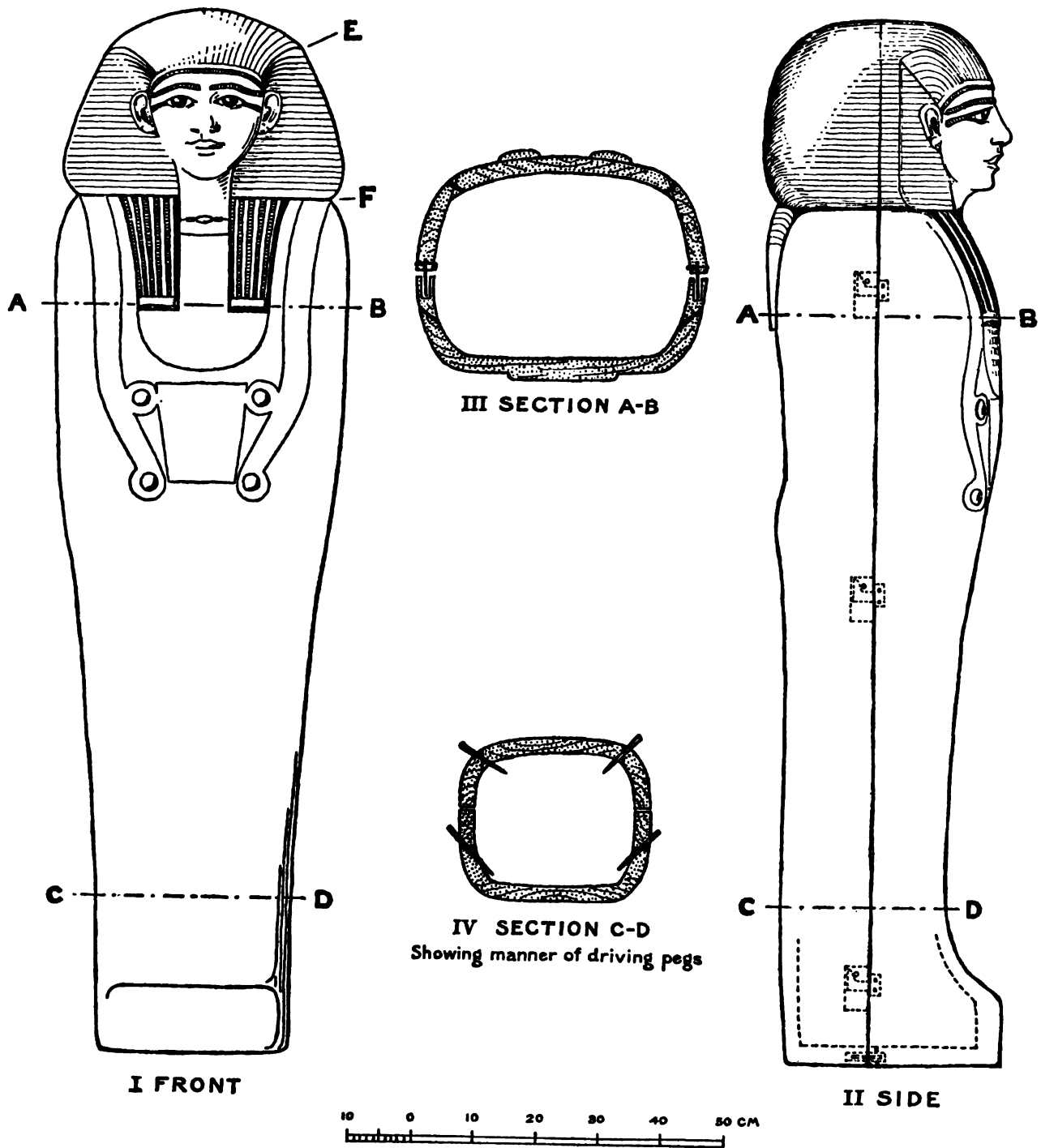


FIG. 23
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTHROPOID COFFIN

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

was made averaged about 26 mm. or 27 mm. in thickness at the sides, and as much as 40 mm. across the toes. The bottom or back was made from a single plank of hard wood. Originally about 8 cm. thick, it had been hollowed out inside to a depth of 5 cm. to 6 cm., and the outside fashioned into the contours of the back and the spring of the two sides (Fig. 23, II, III, and IV). The rest of the sides of the body and the entire cover were built up of smaller pieces of soft wood, probably sycamore-fig or some other species native to Egypt, pinned together with round wooden pegs about 5 mm. in diameter, driven diagonally through the edges of the boards.¹ The face, neck, and forehead were all roughly carved from a single block, hollowed out inside. The ears, 8 cm. long and 4.5 cm. wide, were made separately and pegged in place, as were the striped pendants of the wig, which had been cut from pieces about 11 mm. thick. Finally, sockets were cut and the eyes set in them. These latter had polished obsidian pupils, whites of calcareous stone stippled red in the corners, and silver frames of which the edges projected to represent eyelids.²

The locks In the débris of the coffin were found six copper hooks and a swivel which formed the ingenious locks between the lid and body of the coffin (Pl. XXXIII, E).³ They were all cut from sheet metal 2 mm. in thickness, and the pegs which were found with them were short lengths of wire 2 mm. to 3 mm. in diameter. The hooks were fastened in the edges of the lid, all pointing headwards, three on each side, at intervals of from 40 cm. to 60 cm. (Figs. 23, II and 24, A). The swivel was hung on a pin in a slot in the foot of the lid (Fig. 24, B). A corresponding slot was cut in the foot of the coffin body (C) and longer ones for each of the hooks were cut in the sides, with pegs driven through them near their ends (D). To lock the coffin the lid was held above the body with the foot end of the former about 3 cm. below the foot of the latter (Fig. 24, I). The lid was then lowered (Fig. 24, II); the hooks descended into the ends of the slots (D), and the swivel was swung upward into the lid and held there with the finger. Finally, the lid was pushed towards the head when each of the hooks caught under the pegs in the slots (D) and the swivel, released from all support as it came above the slot (C), fell into it. The hooks catching under the pegs prevented the lid from being lifted off and the swivel prevented its being pulled back to release them.⁴

¹ Similar construction seems to have been employed in Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28093. Complete "dug-out" anthropoids appear in the XIIth dyn. (*i. e.*, Hapi Ankhtifi, and Lacau, *ibid.*, 28084 and 28124); also in the Intermediate Period (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, Pl. LIII, pp. 68, 70, *et passim*).

² Similar eyes, except that the pupils are of quartz, are among the Dashur jewelry in the Cairo Museum.

³ The hook on the left side of the feet was found in position joining fragments of the lid and coffin body. The positions of the others in Fig. 23 were fixed by measurements of their location in the débris. Museum accession number M.M.A. 08.200.23.

⁴ This represents an early type of lock, effectual in all respects except that no means was provided to reopen it, as was, of course, unnecessary for a coffin. Whether it represents a modification of some system of fastening chests and boxes in daily life cannot be said. A primitive form was in use on coffins as early as the sarcophagus of Khafra,

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The interior was coated with black pitch in the same way that the outer coffins were. On the outside the principal features of the decoration were sketched, and holes were carved in the wood in which were inlaid the carnelian disks of the curls and the petal pendants of the collar and pectoral. The whole exterior was then covered with a layer of fine cloth and given a smooth surface of white plaster about 1 mm. thick over the

Technique of
the decoration

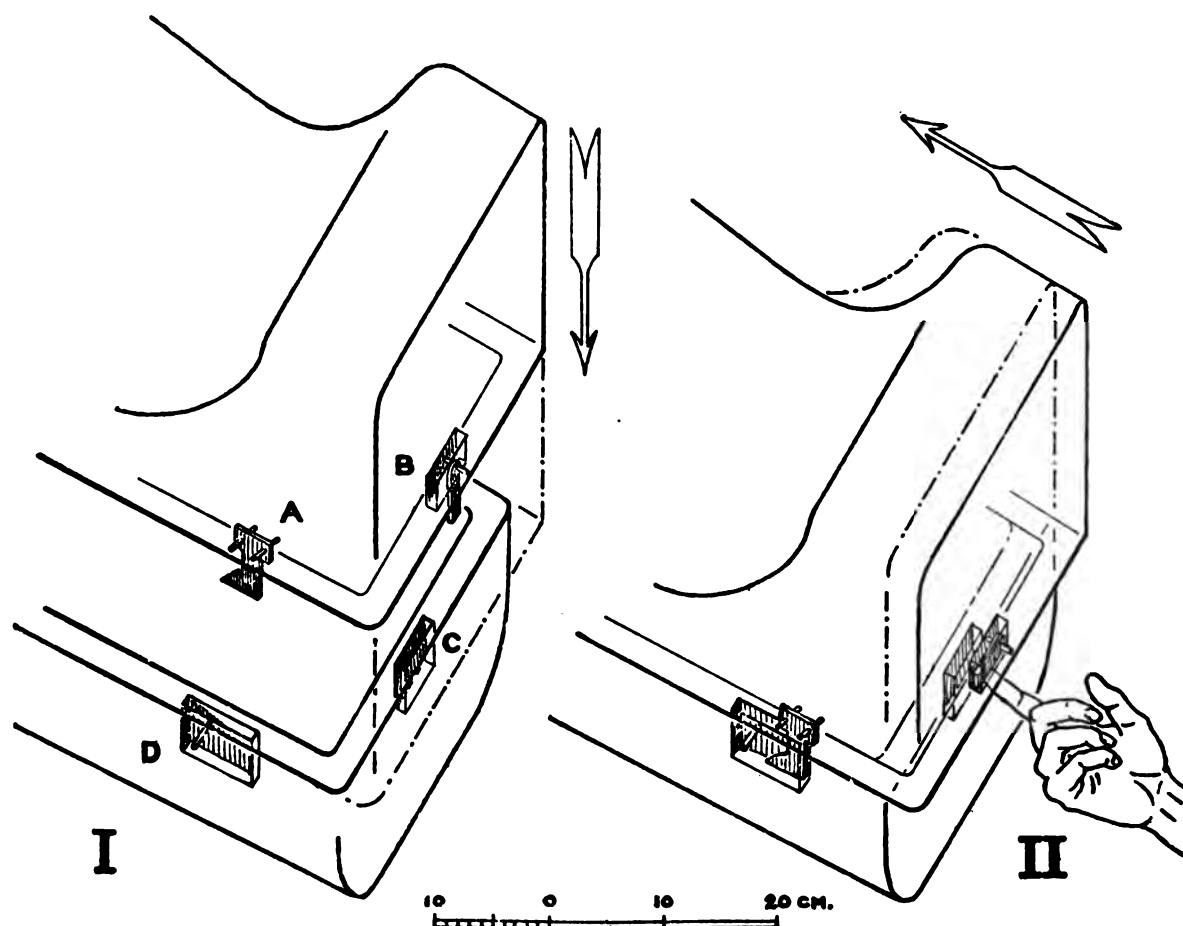


FIG. 24

METHOD OF LOCKING THE ANTHROPOID COFFIN

body, but sufficiently heavy over the roughly carved wood of the face and head to take the final modeling of the features. While this stucco was still soft, the beads, strung in rows, were embedded in it at intervals of about 6 mm. and the stripes of plaster which

which had tongues on the under side of the lid sliding in grooves in the box, and pins, instead of a swivel, falling from holes in the lid into others in the edge of the box. See Hölscher, *Chephren*, p. 63. A swivel of the Transitional Period was found by the Hearst Expedition of the University of California at Naga ed Deir, and even as late as the second half of the XIIth dyn. the tongues and grooves of the Khafra sarcophagus and the revolving swivel are both found on the Canopic box of Hapi Ankhtifi. Meanwhile, wooden dovetail tenons playing in short slots like those for the hooks on the Senebtisi coffin were introduced, obviating the necessity of sliding the lid its whole length as with the tongues and grooves. See Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28038, 28039, and 28084. (The drawings of the latter suggest that there was a swivel in the feet.) The metal hooks seem to have been the final development. A simple type is shown by Lacau, *ibid.*, 28124. Hooks identical to those of Senebtisi were found by De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, p. 36, Fig. 74, and are on the coffin of Nephthys, M. M. A., 11.150.15 B.

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remained between them, as well as the plaster around the petal pendants, were beveled off to throw the inlays into greater relief. All of the lines on the body and head-dress, and the outlines of the rest of the decoration, were ruled in the stucco. Then the gold leaf was applied and rubbed in until it took the impression of the incised lines in the plaster. The stucco on the pendants of the wig was from 2 mm. to 4 mm. thick, and in it were cut hollow stripes a little over 1 mm. deep. The alternate stripes left raised, and the horizontal bands at the ends, were gilded with the rest of the coffin, the hollow stripes being afterward filled in with blue paste flush with the surface. The eyebrows were worked up in low relief in the same material, and finally the band around the forehead, the stripes beside the pectoral, and the curls were painted blue.

Decoration of
the body

In form the coffin represented the conventionalized wrapped body as suggested by the mummies with masks. It was ruled from shoulders to feet, front and back, with stripes 3 cm. wide on the breast, converging to 2 cm. wide at the feet, each alternate stripe being scored with five vertical lines. As will be seen, on this coffin gold represented either flesh color or white linen, and the stripes must therefore have been the conventionalized rendering of such fine pleating as is shown in Fig. 25.¹ Although probably derived directly from the practice of enveloping



FIG. 25
PIECE OF PLEATED LINEN FROM DASHUR (CAIRO
MUSEUM)
Photo. Brugsch Pasha

the mummies of the period in an outer sheet that covered all the wrappings of the body to the throat, indirectly this decoration probably represented a garment. The head-dress, hair, necklaces, and pectoral all show the deceased in a costume more or less appropriate to life, and it is not too much to suppose that the outer covering was intended to some extent to play the rôle of a pleated dress such as that on the Abydos statue in Cairo, just referred to.²

The head-dress




The head-dress was decorated with incised lines, again probably the conventionalized rendering of folds or pleats in linen. Their arrangement suggests a sort of cap with a 12 mm. wide band across the forehead with pleats radiating upward from it. Starting in front and at the sides 9 mm. wide, these latter broadened out over the

¹ The same conventional representation of pleats is employed on the statue of a woman in Cairo. See Petrie, *Abydos I*, Pl. LXX (an unsatisfactory photograph) = Bissing-Brückmann, *Denkmäler*, Text to 73 A.B., and Maspero, *Guide au visiteur*, 1909, p. 114. The piece of linen in Fig. 25, M.M. Brugsch Pasha and Daressy kindly informed me was from De Morgan's excavations at Dashur.

² Compare the wrapped mummy and its representations (e. g., Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 4856) with a figure of a seated man in a cloak (*ibid.*, 4812) to see how a cloak was imitated by the outer wrapping.

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top of the head, and were then brought together again at the back. So much could be determined from the gold leaf, but the exact arrangement behind was left to conjecture.

Two linen head-dresses which have these characteristics are represented as part of the equipment of the dead on the interiors of polychrome rectangular coffins. The commonest was the  (*nmš*), a king's head-dress from early times, which was appropriated by the dead along with many articles of the royal costume just after the Old Kingdom. Painted on the interiors of coffins it is usually yellow with red details and is sometimes even described as being of gold (Figs. 26 and 27).¹ In a slightly modified form it is found on anthropoid coffins down to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but so far as is yet known, only on those of men.² The other, less common head-dress is the  or  *ḥꜣt* (Fig. 27).³ While both seem to be a sort of linen cap in most representations, there is a striking difference in that the *nmš* has two flaps hanging in front while the *ḥꜣt* has none. These flaps are invariably curved at the bottom, of one piece with the upper part, and usually have horizontal pleats or stripes, in all of which respects they differ from the striped pendants on the Senebtisi coffin. The infer-

Identification
of the
head-dress



LACAU, *Sarcophages*
PL. LIV, 28087

FIG. 26
Nmš HEAD-DRESS

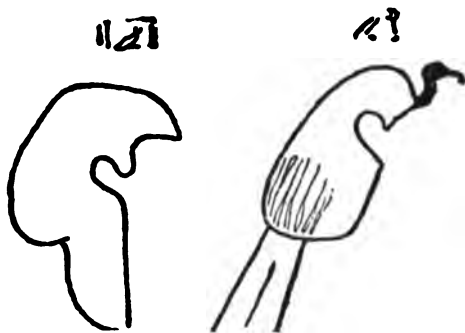


FIG. 27
Nmš AND *Ḥꜣt* HEAD-DRESSES FROM OUTER COFFIN
OF HAPI ANKHTIFI

ence is thus clear that these latter form no part of the Senebtisi head-dress, which, therefore, cannot be the *nmš* but must on the contrary be the *ḥꜣt*. The *ḥꜣt* is invariably shown as a white covering for the hair,⁴ tied at the back of the head, whence it falls in a broad, flat flap. At first it seems to have been merely a handkerchief tied about the hair by women servants engaged in such dusty occupations as winnowing or milling and baking.⁵ It may have

assumed a religious significance as early as the pyramid-texts,⁶ but at least by the

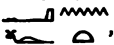
See also Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Index VII, and Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, p. 8, Pl. II.

¹From the XIIth dyn., Lacau, *ibid.*, 28084, and Petrie, *Rifeh*, Pl. XB = Murray, *Two Brothers*, frontispiece. From the Intermediate Period, Petrie, *Gurneb*, Pls. XXII and XXIII, and Carnarvon and Carter, *Thebes*, Pls. LIII and LXII.

See also Lacau, *ibid.*, and Steindorff, *ibid.*

⁴We must not be misled by the fact that the *nmš* is sometimes described as of gold. Gold on this coffin undoubtedly represents white linen or flesh color.

⁵Female servants grinding with a simple handkerchief tied about the hair and knotted at the back of the head are shown on two Vth dyn. statues (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 110 and 114). Women with the developed *ḥꜣt* as in later representations are shown in reliefs of the O. K. winnowing (L. D. II, 47) and grinding and baking (Mastaba of Raemka, M.M.A., o8.201.10). Representations of women wearing the *ḥꜣt* while winnowing are found as late as the XVIIIth dyn. in such Theban tombs as those of Nakht, Menna, and Khaemhat.



⁶In Pyramid Texts (ed. Sethe) 2204 and *passim* a head-dress is mentioned called , the determinative of which has been drawn by Sethe as exactly like the representations of the *ḥꜣt*.


THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Twelfth Dynasty it had been appropriated by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys and in the Empire it was a very common attribute of theirs and of the related female deities.¹ Although both the *h3t* and the *nmš* may have been included in the costumes of individuals of either sex in the polychrome coffins, and in the Empire the former may have been worn by men occasionally,² yet considering the origin of the *h3t* and its connection with the goddesses it would seem that in the Middle Kingdom at least it was considered as primarily feminine as the *nmš* was masculine. This is borne out by the vulture on the brow of the *h3t* in Figure 27,³ and by the fact that the only other known coffin with this head-dress is that of a woman.⁴ Therefore, Seneptisi in all probability wears the woman's or goddess's *h3t*, as Sepa, Nekhtankh, and Khnumnekht wear the king's or god's *nmš*. Unfortunately the restoration of it at the back (Fig. 23, II and III) must remain conjectural in the absence of any well-preserved contemporary examples. The only coffin with this head-dress known is much later, almost flat backed, and very debased in modeling, but it shows the flap behind in contrast to the narrow queue of the *nmš*. The whole modeling of the Seneptisi coffin being much more realistic, a form has been suggested more like the usual representations, but it must be remembered that the costumes on coffins often undergo modifications to suit their positions.



The wig and hair

As the plain gold represents a linen head-dress, so the blue band above the forehead, the blue and gold striped pendants, and the blue and gold curls must all be taken to represent a wig or the natural hair partly covered by the *h3t*. Although it is unusual to have both shown together, the probability seems to be that the pendants are those

¹Isis and Nephthys on boats just before the XIIth dyn. wear the *h3t*; cf. Reisner, "wailing women" on boats, 4811, 4915, 4917, and 4952, and "a goddess" 4842 in *Models of Ships and Boats*, and the boat of Ukhhotep from Meir (M.M.A. 12.183.3), where one figure has on her breast  and the other . A figure of Isis on the foot of a late XIIth dyn. coffin is shown by Lacau, *ibid.*, 28072, Pl. XVIII. Theban tombs of the XVIIIth dyn. frequently show Isis and Nephthys wearing the *h3t*, standing at the head and foot of both coffin and Canopic chest on boats and in processions. In the tomb of Ramose, in the scene where the funeral procession has arrived at the tomb, four women clad in the characteristic costume of Isis and Nephthys, including the *h3t*, stand near the female mourners. They are evidently actual women who had impersonated the goddesses in the procession, a custom which probably dated back to the Middle Kingdom. Other representations of Isis and Nephthys wearing the *h3t* in the Empire are frequent: e. g., L. D. III, 239b; Lefébure, *Hypogées royales*, Part I, Pls. XVII and XX; Davis, *Tomb of Siptah*, Pl. V; Chassinat, *Seconde trouvaille de Deir el Bahari*, Figs. 5 and 18; coffin of Khonsu from the tomb of Sennezem, M.M.A., 1886, 14 B-D.

²The cases are rare and are much later than the period under consideration. Akhenaten occasionally seems to wear it in the palace (Davies, *El Amarna* III, Pl. IV) and it is worn by kings in temple reliefs in Nubia (L. D. III, 66c and 176). In the latter instances it may well be confused with the somewhat similar  diadem of the Nubian King Herusaatef in the Nastesen inscription quoted by Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, p. 8. In ceremonies before Min and Anubis Thothmes III wears the *h3t* in reliefs in the cella of the small temple at Medinet Habu and the Anubis chapel at Deir el Bahri. It is unlikely that the fact that in both of these cases the figure may originally have been Hatshepsut alters the case that in the XVIIIth dyn. the king wore the *h3t* in certain ceremonies. Panefer wears it in the Elysian Fields in his papyrus in Cairo.

³Cf. p. 48 below on the vulture head of Nubhotep.

⁴An Intermediate Period *risbi* coffin of a woman from Lord Carnarvon's excavations in Kurneh (M.M.A. 12.181.-300) inscribed with the usual  formula to the  (name left blank).

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of a wig, the curls part of the natural hair, and the band about the forehead can be taken as belonging to either. In this case the wig would be of the ordinary, conventional form common at all periods, but the curls on the contrary present some features unusual in coffin decoration.¹

The curls were painted blue, with a braided design of gold stripes 3 mm. wide, stopping just above the round ends in a single stripe 4 mm. wide. The carnelian plaques in these round ends were from 25 mm. to 28 mm. in diameter, slightly convex on the surface, and framed in 4 mm. wide gold bands.

In the Twelfth Dynasty one of the most popular ways for women to arrange their hair was to part it in the middle, bringing one lock over each shoulder and leaving a large mass hanging down the back. The locks on each side of the face were waved, filled out with false hair, bound about with tapes or ribbons to make them keep their shape and to prevent the stuffing from showing or coming out, and finished off at the ends with circular objects which served both as ornaments and as weights to keep the locks hanging in place.² The exact nature of these ornaments is not satisfactorily shown on any of the existing monuments, but if a guess may be hazarded, it might be suggested that they were disks with a groove around the edge, made usually of carnelian.³ The end of the hair would have been wrapped around the groove in the disk, brought back to the lock, and tied with a tape which is an almost invariable feature of the representations.⁴ In the present case four curls seem to be shown, the upper carnelian bosses being the ends of the second, shorter pair which lie under or behind the long ones. All of them are much narrower and longer than was common and the braided design of little gold stripes is unusual. However, the proportions were probably due to the exigencies of the design, and considering how all the other examples were bound with narrow ribbons it seems probable that in this case the same idea was intended in the gold

A variety of
XIIth dyn. hair
dressing

¹For the wig compare the description of that of Ita quoted below, p. 47.

²Compare the relief from Bersheh in Cairo (Newberry, *El Bersheh*, frontispiece); the Statues of Nefert, Queen of Senusert II in Cairo (Bissing-Brückmann, *ibid.*, Pls. 21-22); statue 42009 in Cairo (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* I, Pl. IV); the Sphinx in Rome (Bissing-Brückmann, *ibid.*, Pl. 37); a figure from a boat in Cairo (Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 4843); and a limestone statuette of a woman named  probably from Gau el Kebir, in the possession of Nicola Tano in 1913. All of these are of the Middle Kingdom, and all have the characteristics above noted. The same hair dressing is also found on the coffin of Queen Aahotep of the XVIIth dyn. in Cairo and the contemporary *risbi* coffin (M.M.A. 12.181.300) mentioned above, p. 44, note 4, both of which retain characteristics of XIIth dyn. women's anthropoid coffins. Possibly the origin is to be seen in a somewhat similar style starting in the Vth dyn. and undergoing several changes down to the M. K., described by von Bissing in *Ä. Z.* 1899, p. 75. The weights in this case are spherical and cylindrical.

³In the examples in the preceding note, the objects are red on the Bersheh relief, Wahka Statuette, and the *risbi* coffin. On the Senebtisi coffin they are, of course, carnelian. On the Aahotep coffin they are blue. They are uncolored on the others.

⁴There is no reason to suppose that Middle Kingdom women with their hair arranged in this way are identified with Hathor, who was frequently represented in later times with curled locks on either side of her face. The early form of Hathor (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* I, Pl. XXIX, Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 467, etc.) was still current in the XIIth dyn. (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XXXIV; Lange and Schäfer, *Grabsteine d. mittl. Reichs*, Pl. LXIX, 207, etc.); and if from that time on the goddess is shown with two curling locks it seems probable that her form was then modified in accordance with the fashion of the day.

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stripes. Instead of having the ribbons simple horizontal ties, here they were braided around and possibly through the hair.¹ The other alternative is that they were actually braided locks like the curls of children or the weighted braids of dancing girls.²

The bead
necklace

On the lower part of her throat between the two pendants of the wig Seneptisi was represented as wearing a string of beads, several variations of which commonly formed part of the adornment supplied to the dead in the Middle Kingdom.³ In the center was an oval carnelian plaque 28 mm. long and 12 mm. wide, slightly convex on its outer surface, in imitation of the characteristic barrel-shaped Middle Kingdom beads. On either side was inlaid a single green faience cylindrical bead similar to those in the collar and pectoral. Originally there probably was a short piece of string extending from each of the cylindrical beads and seeming to go around the throat.

The bead
collar and
pectoral



The bead collar worn by Seneptisi was of the ordinary type, the shoulder-pieces being hidden in this case by the wig and hair.⁴ The only unusual feature is the pectoral hanging below, but even this is known on Old and Middle Kingdom monuments, the shape here having been changed slightly to fill the space between the curls.⁵ Both collar and pectoral were made of cylindrical beads of blue and green faience averaging about 10 mm. long, and of carnelian, averaging 7 mm. long, with a few mitred to fit the triangular spaces at the curves. The rows were arranged in the order *blue, green, red*, repeating and ending in *blue*. The pendants, averaging about 20 mm. long, were made up of three plaques each, the apex of blue faience, the center of carnelian, and the semicircular bottom of green faience. Along the tops of the rows of pendants were lines of green faience plaques 6 mm. wide, and down the sides of the pectoral were stripes of blue painted on the plaster.

Parallels



There were so many similarities between the burial of Seneptisi and those of the royal personages at Dashur that it is natural to suppose some of the latter would have been equipped with anthropoid coffins more or less like the present one. Though no mention is made by De Morgan of finding any such coffins in the royal tombs, this circumstance need not be taken as final evidence against the supposition that they had existed.

¹Similar treatment of binding about hair is shown by Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, Pl. 64, No. 14715.

²Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 248.

³Called  or . See below, p. 62. On masks and anthropoid coffins there is commonly painted at the throat a red oval bead flanked by two green cylindrical or round beads. See Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28073, Petrie, *Rifeb*, Pl. XI (Murray, *Two Brothers*, pp. 12 and 14), and Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Fig. 22. On the coffins 28084 and 28124 in Lacau, *ibid.*, the beads are inlaid, and on the coffin of Nephthys (Fig. 32 in M.M.A., *Handbook of Egyptian Rooms*, 1st ed., p. 67) the beads are not only inlaid but the strings on either side are intact.

⁴See description of collars on the mummy below, Chapter IV, p. 64.

⁵Pectorals -shaped hanging on bands of beadwork are on Vth dyn. statues (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 139 and 230) and Vth dyn. reliefs (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-re' II*, Pls. 52-54, p. 61) and are worn by the girls on the relief from Bersheh cited above, p. 45, note 2. A collar with such a pectoral attached to it, as on this coffin, is on the coffin of Ukhhotep from Meir (M.M.A. 12.182.132), where it is called "a collar of the two goddesses," a name loosely applied to several types. The drawing shows that the pectoral is not to be confused with the , worn on the back as a tassel or counterpoise (Borchardt, *ibid.*, 56, 139, 380 *et passim*. See also below, p. 66).

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The formation of the desert at Lisht and at Dashur is identical, and on every hand there is ample evidence that the antiquities found at the two sites were in exactly similar condition when excavated. With this in mind, it is important to recall the fact that when the clearing of this burial had arrived at the stage shown in Plate X, B we believed that the body had been enveloped in a stucco cartonnage and started our notes on this assumption, so complete was the destruction of everything except the gold leaf and inlays, and so frequent the occurrence of scraps of plaster. It was only after very laborious study of the remains extending over several days that we arrived at the conclusion that there had been a wooden coffin, and this was proved correct in the end by the discovery of the copper locks. As will be seen below, the descriptions of the conditions of some of the Dashur burials tally so exactly with our first impressions of that of Senebtisi that one can not avoid the conclusion that some of them at least had coffins similar to hers, decomposed as hers was. Legrain, speaking of the burials in general, writes, "*On ne saurait s'imaginer le mauvais état de conservation des momies de Dabcbour. A l'ouverture de chaque cercueil, à laquelle il m'a été donné d'assister, j'ai toujours été frappé de l'affaissement du cadavre. Il n'est nullement emmaillotté comme les momies d'époque postérieure, mais bien pris dans une gaine stuquée le plus souvent dorée qui moulait à peu près ses formes. Cette gaine fragile s'est écroulée par la suite des temps et aussi peut-être à cause de la décomposition du cadavre mal préparé.*"¹

Anthropoid
coffins at
Dashur

In the following list of parallels further quotations will be given showing the conditions of individual burials which in all probability had anthropoid coffins.

LISHT: Early XIIth dyn.; in pit 503 (Excavations of the M.M.A. not yet published).

Two examples of a primitive type of stucco coffin mentioned below on p. 53, note 5.

Examples
found
elsewhere

LISHT: Early XIIth dyn.; Burial 799 (Excavations of the M.M.A. not yet published).

Fragments of the wooden anthropoid coffin of a man, similar in construction to that of Senebtisi. Body decoration ruled gold; eyebrows and beard blue; hair blue and gold, probably with incrustations like Hapi Ankhtifi. Inside black.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat II; *Princess Ita* (De Morgan, *Dabcbour* II, pp. 48-50).

"*La momie, probablement mal préparée, était jadis recouverte d'un enduit de bitume peint à la détrempe sur une mince couche de plâtre fin. Son masque, dont la coiffure portait des bandes d'or et d'azur, était orné d'yeux montés en argent. La momie. était un assemblage difforme d'étoffes, de cartonnages faits de stuc et de linges assemblés, où scintillaient quelques légères feuilles d'or; en haut émergeait tant bien que mal un masque écrasé aux yeux de calcaire et de quartz sertis d'argent.*" In the Cairo Museum there are three pairs of eyes shown among the jewels from the tombs of these two princesses (*Guide*, p. 407, Nos. 3914-16). All of them are larger than those in the mask of King Hor and all are identical in size and shape with those of Senebtisi.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat II; *Princess Kbnunit* (De Morgan, *ibid.*, p. 55); similar.

¹De Morgan, *Dabcbour* II, p. 50.

Further
examples
found
elsewhere

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DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III; *Princess Nubhotep* (De Morgan, *ibid.*, I, p. 110).

"La momie avait beaucoup souffert des effets de l'humidité. Jadis, le corps avait été placé dans une enveloppe de plâtre doré, mais il ne restait plus au fond du cercueil qu'un amas de poussières dans lequel les os et les divers objets avaient conservé leur position respective." Further on p. 112—see also Pl. XXXVIII—there are described a uraeus and vulture of gold with tenons of silver which were attached "*sans doute dans le masque*." The vulture head in the Cairo Museum is hollow and has no tenon, but it was almost certainly attached to a mask with a *hjt* head-dress such as that in Fig. 27. The uraeus belonged to a separate diadem.

DASHUR: Reign of Amenemhat III; a pit tomb (De Morgan, *ibid.*, II, p. 102, Fig. 103).

"Contenait deux momies: l'une, renfermée dans un simple cercueil dont la tête était dorée." The drawing is on a very small scale.

MEIR: About the reign of Amenemhat III; *Nephtys* (M.M.A. 11.150.15B. Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales*, XI, p. 11 and *Handbook of the Egyptian Rooms*, M.M.A., 1st ed., p. 37, Fig. 32).

A heavy stucco coffin with black body, conventional green wig, gilt face, small bead collar, and *swrt* necklace inlaid. Hook locks. No inscriptions. Black inside. Described by Ahmed Bey as "*une gaine de forme humaine*."

MEIR: Same date(?); *Hapi Ankbtifi* (M.M.A. 12.183.11C).

A wooden coffin with black body, conventional wig, gilt face, imitation inlaid collar. No inscriptions. Black inside.

MEIR: Same date(?).

There was another anthropoid coffin at Saïd Bey Khashaba's excavation camp when we visited it in 1911 which was more or less similar to the last. It does not seem to have been published as yet.

BENI HASAN: Late XIIth dyn.;¹ *Userbat* (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pp. 173 and 217, Fig. 181).

Found in an "exterior polychrome" rectangular coffin. A wooden anthropoid coffin; face painted black; painted collar; body white with column of inscription in blue from collar to ankles.

RIFEH: Late XIIth dyn.; *Nekbtankh*, *Kbnumunekht* and two *Kbnumuboteps* (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 12 *et seq.*, Pls. X B, X F, and XI = Murray, *Tomb of Two Brothers*, Manchester Mus. Pub. 68, p. 11 *et seq.*).

Found in "exterior polychrome" coffins. Four wooden anthropoid coffins; gilt, silvered, and painted faces; painted collars below which extend vertical columns of inscription to feet; body decorations, conventionalized bead net patterns, with transverse bandages in first two cases. *Khnumunekht* and one *Khnumuhotep* have adaptations from *nmf* head-dress.

BERSHEH: XIIth dyn.; *Sepa* (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28084).

Found in an "interior polychrome" rectangular coffin. Wooden coffin (complete dug-out) with wooden dovetailed tenon locks. A form of *nmf* head-dress which formerly had a uraeus on forehead,² gilt face, inlaid necklace, and painted collar. Decoration of body, horizontal bands and bead girdle. On shoulder



¹Compare pottery given in tomb catalogue and the considerations advanced below on p. 54.

²Compare mummy with mask of *Khnumhotep* M.M.A. 12.182.131C.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

BERSHEH: XIIth dyn.; *Amenembat* (Lacau, *ibid.*, 28093).

Found in an "interior polychrome" coffin. Construction similar to that of Senebtisi. Otherwise seems to have been like the last.

BERSHEH: XIIth dyn.; *Hequtinekht* (Lacau, *ibid.*, 28124).

Found in an "interior polychrome" rectangular coffin. Copper hook locks. Otherwise seems to have been similar to above two.

5. *Relationships of Middle Kingdom Coffin Types*

So many coffins from the different periods preceding the epoch of the Egyptian Empire have been preserved to us and have formed the subject of publications, that the study of those of Senebtisi could hardly be considered complete without some attempt to correlate hers and the most important ones in other collections.¹ Such a study involves an unavoidable repetition of some of the remarks already made, and must anticipate many of the conclusions advanced in subsequent chapters in order that the subject of the coffins may be treated here as a whole. On the other hand, as a full treatment of the question would hardly be appropriate to this book, it has been necessary to omit many interesting points for the sake of brevity, and numerous exceptions and anachronisms have been passed over that would find space in the fuller treatment of which these coffins are worthy.

The cemeteries surrounding the pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty contained the tombs of the royal families and of the courtiers in the immediate following of the king. Senebtisi was a connection of the great wazir in whose tomb she was buried, and naturally she would have followed the fashions set by the royal ladies of the day, both in life and in her grave after death. It will not be surprising, therefore, to find that frequent references will be made throughout this book to similarities which existed between the funeral furniture from this grave and those of the princesses found at Dashur. The few differences noted are natural ones due to the greater wealth of the royal family, and, in rare cases such as the Canopic jars, to the very slight changes introduced between the reign of Amenemhat I and the later Twelfth Dynasty kings in whose days the burials at Dashur were made. This is true of the coffins. The lists of parallels cited above show, without further comment, the close connection between the coffins of Senebtisi and those of the royalties found by De Morgan. Her outside coffin may not have been duplicated among the latter, but then all of them had stone sarcophagi instead of outer coffins of wood. Moreover, it must be remembered that even her outer coffin had all the essential characteristics—the lid, black pitch inside, gold stripes, simple eye-panel, etc.—of the more typical examples. The wood only imitates cedar, and the inscriptions are in color instead of gold, but these are economies rather than differences in style. The same is

Coffins of
Senebtisi as
representative
of XIIth dyn.
Court burials

¹Our indebtedness to Monsieur Lacau for his scholarly publication of the Cairo coffins is evident throughout this volume.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

true of the Canopic box. At Dashur there was always an outer stone box as there was an outer stone coffin. Here there was no outer box and, therefore, the one that did exist had to follow to some extent the outer coffin which it accompanied.

Accepting the Seneptisi coffins with the ones from Dashur as representing the Twelfth Dynasty court type, it remains to study the relationship of this group with those current before this period, or during the Twelfth Dynasty outside of the court.

Upper and
Middle
Egyptian
coffins in the
Transitional
Period

The close of the Old Kingdom and the more or less complete disruption of Egypt into separate principalities was a period in which diverse customs naturally came into existence in different parts of the Nile Valley. At such a time it would have been the notables of the different localities who were the originators, and we should, therefore, look among the provincial populations of the late Old Kingdom for the germs of the burial customs of the Transitional Period. Such a search brings to light the origins of two more or less distinct types of coffin, the one current in Upper Egypt and the other in Middle Egypt, both originating in the Memphite Period, and both existing down to the Middle Kingdom. Rectangular wooden coffins appear in Fifth Dynasty graves, some with exterior inscriptions in horizontal bands and some with eyes on the side.¹ These eyes must have been placed on the outside of the coffin, opposite the face of the body as it lay on its side within, for much the same reason as that for which they were put on contemporary stelæ.² The coffin and the tomb chamber both enclosed the body, and an exit from them, either a door or eyes for a window, had to be arranged to enable the soul to come out and partake of the offerings.³ After these simple beginnings the two Transitional Period types make their first appearance in the Sixth Dynasty.

The
Heracleopoli-
tan type

Primitive Old Kingdom examples of the first of these types, the Heracleopolitan, have been found at Deshasheh, in the Heracleopolitan nome, with both the inscriptions and the eyes of the earlier coffins and even a false-door outside. Inside they are decorated with lists and pictures of offerings and false-doors imitating those of the contemporary "chamber-sarcophagi," like that of Mena at Denderah.⁴ From this point until the Twelfth Dynasty the development is continuous in the majority of coffins from the Memphite and Middle Egyptian cemeteries of Abusir, Sakkara, Beni Hasan, Bersheh, Meir, Assiut, and Rifeh. In the developed type the coffins are generally painted yellow

¹See Vth dyn. coffin from Sakkara with inscriptions (*Annales* I, pp. 159-160); Vth-VIth dyn. contracted burial coffins with eyes (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pp. 16-17); Vth-VIth dyn. rectangular coffin with eyes only, from Beni Hasan (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 166). The VIth dyn. sarcophagi of Pepi I and Teti had no eyes—the former had a band of inscription down the lid, the latter a similar band, and bands inside (Maspero, in *Rec. Trav.* V and VI).

²See Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. I, and Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Fig. 12.

³This primitive idea was given a less ingenious explanation later and the eyes came to be looked upon as a means of allowing the deceased to behold the sun-god (Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 73). While the eyes on the apex of the Amenemhat III pyramid may have had a purely solar significance, the employment of the texts which accompany them with the eyes on the Sebek-o coffin (Steindorff, *Grabfunde* II, p. 5, 1) marks a secondary solarizing of the simple and practical primitive idea for coffins.

⁴See Petrie, *Deshasheh*, p. 15, the coffin of Nenkeftek (=Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28122), and p. 20, the coffin of Mera. For similar examples at Gizeh, Junker, *J.E.A.* I, p. 251. "Chamber-sarcophagus" of Mena, Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. III.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

outside, and the exterior inscriptions in color consist of the original band on the lid and the horizontal one around the box, with additional vertical columns below. The eyes are either in a rectangular tablet or are sometimes combined with an elaborately painted false-door. In all typical examples the interior is completely covered with the representations of offerings and their accompanying rubrics, which started at Deshasheh, and with a collection of texts which came into current use for private "chamber-sarcophagi" shortly after such texts appear in the pyramids.¹

The second coffin type, which we shall call the Upper Egyptian, begins to be differentiated at about the same period as that of Middle Egypt. Starting with the same simple coffins with horizontal inscriptions and eyes on the side, there begin to appear about the Sixth Dynasty at Akhmim examples on which the lists of offerings are painted outside, instead of inside. Later forms at Gebelein, and even those from the Mentuhotep temple at Deir el Bahri, develop these offering lists painted outside into actual scenes in which the deceased is depicted receiving food and clothing. These characteristics, together with undecorated interiors in typical cases, serve to differentiate the Upper Egyptian from the Middle Egyptian type.² In other respects—for example, the exterior inscriptions and eye-panels—there seems to have been considerable similarity between the two. Undoubtedly the greatest popularity came to the Middle Egyptian type with the impetus given it by the reigning houses of Heracleopolis, and at times it existed even in the heart of Upper Egypt side by side with the local style.³

Such were the types current throughout Egypt before the Twelfth Dynasty and, as we shall see later, during the Twelfth Dynasty in the provinces. How greatly they differ from the type used at Lisht and Dashur in the court graves is evident when one recalls the characteristics of the latter given above.⁴ Among the Lisht and Dashur coffins interior decoration is replaced with a plain wash of black pitch; false-doors and eye-panels combined are never found; representations or lists of offerings and long texts disappear; and, above all, a reaction is evident against polychrome effects in the most characteristic court coffins, the whole emphasis of the decoration being put on the color and tone of fine cedar wood relieved with bands of gold. Moreover, in shape the court coffins of the Twelfth Dynasty present a difference from those of the Transitional Period. The curved lid with flat terminals appears very early in the historical period on

The Upper
Egyptian
type

Rectangular
Court and
Transitional
coffins
contrasted

¹On the dating of the cemeteries where this type of coffin is most characteristic see below, Chapter VII, p. 114, *et seq.* See Petrie, *Dendereh*, Pl. XXXVIII for the VIIth dyn. "chamber-sarcophagus" of Beb.

²Early Upper Egyptian coffins from Akhmim are 28001-28021 in Lacau, *Sarcophages*; later examples from Gebelein are Lacau, *ibid.*, 28033, 28114-28116, and in Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o.* From Thebes compare the Sarcophagi of Kait and Kemsit in Naville, etc., *Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el Babari*, Part I, Pls. XIX-XXIII.

³The contemporary Theban sarcophagi of Daga (28024) and of Kait and Kemsit, from Thebes, are of the Middle and Upper Egyptian types respectively. The latter type may even have had a vogue to the north, for there is a Hyksos coffin from Saqqara (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28108) with a picture of the dead on a bier reminiscent of the Gebelein coffins.

⁴See also Chapter VII, p. 114 below.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

wooden coffins for contracted burials.¹ It passed over to the large stone sarcophagi of the higher classes in the Old Kingdom, but whether it continued to be used in any part of Egypt between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties can not be said at present. Whether adopted from some still existing local custom, or revived from early examples, following the dictates of the same archaizing fashion that copied Old Kingdom pyramids and temples, this distinctive form of lid was reintroduced into fashion by the court circles of the Twelfth Dynasty for all their stone sarcophagi and most of their wooden coffins.

Middle
Kingdom
Canopic boxes

The removal of the viscera from the body and their preservation in special receptacles was a detail of mummification which originated in the Old Kingdom, but it was always considered a process which might be dispensed with on occasion.² Canopic boxes are thus less frequently met with than might be expected, but wherever found they were always regarded as the coffins of the viscera, and therefore followed closely on the coffins of the body in style.³ Thus, as far as decoration goes, the classification of the rectangular coffins applies to these boxes as well, and in addition there is a further difference between the court practice and that of the Transitional Period.

In most of the Old Kingdom tombs, jars alone seem to have been considered sufficient for the viscera.⁴ Boxes for the jars came into use in the pyramids, at least, before the end of this period, giving rise to a little known practice by the Heracleopolitan Epoch. In this case the box alone was the sole receptacle for the viscera and for this purpose was made with four interior compartments, sometimes closed with an inner lid in addition to the outer one.⁵ As the four divisions of the viscera came to be regarded as being under the protection of the four genii, the names of the latter might be written on the

¹Early dynastic examples have been found at Tarkhan, Sakḥara, and Beni Hassan; VIth dyn. examples are noted by Petrie, *Deshasbeh*, pp. 18-21. As the boxes in most cases have paneled sides, reminiscent of brick work, so the lids may represent a lean-to barrel vault, the terminals being the supporting end walls.

²In connection with the Canopic box see the remarks on Canopic jars below, p. 107.

³In the Middle Kingdom there was some diversity in this practice. At Dashur most burials had Canopic chests of stone similar to the stone sarcophagi (De Morgan, *Dashur I*, p. 57, p. 73, etc.) in which were placed wooden boxes like the coffins (unknown princess, *ibid.*, p. 57, Nubhotep and Hor). In cases where there was only one box it might either be like the second coffin (Hapi Ankhtifi) or the outer one. In any case, to have it as near like the coffins as possible seems to have been the object.

⁴Thus in the Vth-VIth dyn. Gizeh mastabas, as we are informed by Dr. Reisner. In the Vth dyn. mastaba of Per-neb at Sakḥara there was no box, according to Mr. Quibell, but only the jars (M.M.A. 14.7.16-19). In the pyramid of Pepi Meryre there was a box in addition (Maspero, *Rec. Trav.*, V, p. 158).

⁵The exact date of the introduction of these boxes is uncertain, but examples are known which preserve their early characteristics. Boxes divided into four compartments in which the viscera were placed directly without jars were frequent in the pre-XIIth dyn. graves at Beni Hasan: See Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 92, Khnumnekhta and Neternekhta; p. 176, Khnumhotep; pp. 82 and 177, Nefwa. At Meir: See Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales XII*, p. 112, Ukhhotep (now in M.M.A. 12.182.133). Most of these examples have the names of the genii on the compartments.

Boxes with an inner lid over the four compartments were common at Meir: e. g., Senba, M.M.A. 11.150.17, and Hapi Ankhtifi, M.M.A. 12.183.14. The Canopic box of Nephthys is described as of this type by Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales XI*, p. 14. The boxes of Senba and Nephthys had small wooden heads pegged on to the inner lid above the centers of the four compartments, and that of Nephthys had dedications to the four genii on the outer lid above them as well. That the type existed in Thebes, at least in the XIIth dyn., is proved by the box of King Sebekemsaf (Borchardt, *Ä. Z.*, 1894, p. 23). Considering the cases above of boxes with inner lids, it is improbable that this one ever had any jars, the drawings of jars with inscriptions on the inner lid above the compartments taking their place. Moreover, the box is oblong instead of square as it would be naturally if it were intended for jars.

THE COFFINS AND CANOPIC BOX

compartments and this custom probably grew into that of inscribing the outer corners of the boxes with the formulæ for the protection of the four goddesses and the four genii.¹ Meantime typical Canopic jars had been developed and they were adopted universally for the court burials. Occasionally the earlier Middle Kingdom boxes which were intended to hold jars were of a primitive, undivided form,² but usually it was found more convenient to adopt the compartmented type, quite possibly in imitation of those Transitional Period boxes just mentioned. By the Mid-Twelfth Dynasty the formulæ on their corners, originally put there to cover the compartments, had passed over to the jars themselves as well.

So far as can be seen at present, the anthropoid coffin seems to have been an innovation introduced about the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, that of Senebtisi being the earliest definitely datable example yet known.³ It has been suggested with every probability of certainty that the origin of the type lies with the cartonnage masks of the Transitional Period. Although it is impossible to demonstrate the stages of its evolution from contemporary material, still there existed into the Twelfth Dynasty some interesting survivals from intermediate steps which show the process with sufficient clearness. With the adoption of the extended position for the body and the wrapping of it to suggest its natural form in the shape we now associate with mummies, a desire grew up to complete the tendency toward naturalism by some representation of a face and head. As early as the Sixth Dynasty attempts were made to model a portrait in plaster over the face of the mummy and sometimes even to sheath the whole body in stucco.⁴ As a matter of convenience, the masks modeled *in situ* on the body gave way at an early date to the familiar type made to be slipped over the head of the mummy in an already completed state.⁵ The desire to encase the entire mummy occasionally, is shown by examples prolonged to cover a large part of the body,⁶ but to make a snugly fitting full-length envelope that could be slipped over the head was impossible, and recourse was had to the expedient of making it in two sections—a back or body and a front or lid. The result was to all intents and purposes a cartonnage coffin, to obtain greater solidity

Development
of anthropoid
coffins

¹One variety of the formulæ is on the box of Senebtisi; see p. 36.

²For example, that of Karenen in Quibell, *Saqqara*, 1906-07, p. 10, and that of Senebtisi. Even later in the XIIth dyn. or XIIIth dyn. boxes are found without compartments; e. g., Sepa, Cairo 4981 (from Bersheh) and Hemenhotep, Cairo 4731 (from Kurneh).

³The coffin of Mykerinos is not to be regarded as of the IVth dyn. on considerations of technique, aside from any questions that may be involved in the inscriptions (on which see Sethe, *Ä. Z.*, 1892, p. 94). Unfortunately we are unable to deal with the question of the fragments of wood found by Maspero in the VIth dyn. pyramids, in the absence of a detailed description of them. Proof of the existence of actual anthropoid coffins in the IVth dyn. would have to be very strong in the face of existing evidence of the origin of masks in the VIth dyn.

⁴Junker, *Jour. Eg. Arch.* I, p. 252, for examples from Gizeh. He describes also a portrait drawn on the bandages.

⁵VI-IXth dyn. masks were found by the Hearst Expedition of the University of California at Naga ed Deir. Heracleopolitan ones are of frequent occurrence.

⁶A probable XIIth dyn. example is in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, Fig. 179.

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in which wooden frames were introduced,¹ and the final step of making it wholly of wood was a foregone conclusion. This, as we have seen, was arrived at by the reign of Amenemhat I at least, and was either an innovation due to the court circles or was immediately adopted by them.

Characteristics
of XIIth dyn.
anthropoid
coffins

For some time after its introduction the anthropoid coffin continued to be regarded merely as a realistic envelope for the body. The body still being laid upon its side throughout the Middle Kingdom, this "envelope" was naturally turned with it so that the eyes it gave the dead might look out through the eyes on the side of the coffin proper. The back was more or less exposed in this position and therefore it was modeled to represent the contours of the body and decorated as such. As the hands were not visible on the wrapped mummy, they never occur on its "envelope" before the Eighteenth Dynasty. Moreover, the decoration is consistently limited to ornaments or dress appropriate to the body either living or dead. Just as a mummy with a mask might have an actual bead collar sewn on its breast, the coffins had one inlaid or painted there; and as the mummy might wear a bead girdle or be wrapped in a pleated outer shawl or garment, or bound with narrow horizontal bandages, the decoration on the outside of the coffins reproduced such features faithfully.² Some of the articles of attire, such as the necklaces, may have acquired an amuletic meaning, and, of course, the *nmš* and *bšt* head-dresses were worn by the dead in their divine characters; but the realistic nature of the decoration remains the outstanding characteristic of these coffins. With this conception of the earliest anthropoid coffins in mind, it is not surprising to find that they have no inscriptions on them.³

Court and
Provincial
coffin types in
the Middle
Kingdom

From time to time in the course of this volume contrasts will be drawn between the tomb furniture of the Transitional Period and that of the courtiers of the Twelfth Dynasty, but enough has been mentioned already to show that at least as far as coffins and Canopic boxes were concerned, one distinct and highly developed burial type had grown up in the district which represented the old Heracleopolitan dominions, and another, beyond, in Upper Egypt, when a third style appeared with the court of Amenemhat I and dominated the royal cemeteries throughout his dynasty.

It would be interesting to trace in detail the spread of this third type as time went

¹Two early XIIth dyn. cloth and stucco coffins strengthened with wood of this primitive type were found by the M. M. A. Expedition in Pit 503 at Lisht. The coffin of Nephthys from Meir in the M. M. A. is a cartonnage coffin bearing evidences in its construction of the influence of the wooden type, which had been current for some time when it was made.

²Bead collars sewn on masked mummies: Khnumhotep, M.M.A., 12.182.131 from Meir and Mentuhotep in Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentuhotep*, Pl. VI. The decoration on the body of the Senebtisi coffin is probably pleated linen; on Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28084, it is horizontal bandages and a bead girdle; on Petrie, *Rifeb*, Pls. XB and XF, horizontal bandages and bead network. The black-bodied coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi was closed with dowels and pegs and afterward wrapped about the chest, thighs, and ankles with narrow strips of cloth which served the double purpose of representing bandages on the body and giving additional security as well.

³There could have been none on those of Senebtisi or the Dashur princesses or some trace would have been found on the gold leaf. There were none on the two primitive cartonnage coffins from Lisht or on those of Nephthys and Hapi Ankhtifi from Meir.

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on, but that is hardly within the bounds of this present study. Suffice it to say, however, that the customs which held among the higher classes in the capital city were never, as far as we know, adopted throughout the country in their pure form. The traditions of the Heracleopolitan Period were so firmly rooted that even at Lisht itself many survivals of the earlier types persisted among the middle classes, while the people of the provinces, always conservative and far removed from the fashionable courtiers of the capital, retained the customs of their forefathers for several generations. Typical Heracleopolitan coffins with interior decorations continued to be used for a time¹ and even underwent a further development which resulted in the appearance of the most elaborate type of Middle Kingdom polychrome coffin. From the earliest times false-doors had been painted on the exteriors of rectangular coffins. About the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty the entire outer surfaces of coffins were covered with a succession of these false-doors painted in brilliant colors.² This may have been a spontaneous development from the coffins with vertical inscriptions dividing their exteriors into panels. On the other hand, there is a possibility that it was a conscious imitation of Old Kingdom paneled sarcophagi; and if this was so, it must be regarded as a phase of the archaizing spirit which prevailed at the royal pyramids and cemeteries. At any rate, it was an innovation dating from about the time of Amenemhat I, and for this reason it persisted long after the disappearance of the interior decoration with which it started.

But if the old traditions persisted in the provinces in one form or another and the court burial was not adopted in all its purity, yet it is only to be expected that it was imitated to a large extent by the nomarchs and their followers. They were quick to borrow the curved lids for rectangular coffins and the anthropoid form, both of which had a great popularity throughout the Twelfth Dynasty and afterward. Interior decorations for rectangular coffins disappeared as we have just seen. Adaptations of the pure court type and the local ones were common. The people of Bersheh took up the anthropoid coffin before they had ceased using the Heracleopolitan rectangular type. While Hapi Ankhtifi of Meir had an outermost coffin, polychrome inside and out, and a Transitional type of Canopic box, still this box and his second coffin were of cedar somewhat like those of Senebtisi, and he had a wooden anthropoid coffin. Nephthys, in the same place, had an anthropoid coffin in a rectangular outer coffin very like that of Senebtisi, except that it had a false-door combined with the eyes. Again, anthropoid coffins in the provinces were placed in rectangular coffins with polychrome, paneled exteriors, and to be in keeping with them were often decorated in color as elaborately as the earlier masks had been. Such were those of Userhat at Beni Hasan and of Nekht-

¹The three anthropoid coffins from Bersheh listed above, pp. 48 and 49, were in such outer coffins, undoubtedly of the XIIth dyn.

²Excellent examples are those of Mentuhotep and Sebek-o in Berlin (Steindorff, *Grabfunde* I and II).

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ankh at Rifeh. On these provincial anthropoid coffins it became the custom to inscribe, first the name of the deceased, and then long funerary formulæ in a band extending from the breast to the feet.¹ Later, a new element was introduced into the decoration in the form of the feathers on the *risbi* coffins, after which came the two final changes which resulted in the characteristic coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty. First, the passing of the custom of laying the body and the coffin on the side made it natural to fashion the back plain and flat, and, second, it became usual in the Intermediate Period to have an anthropoid coffin only, without an outer, rectangular coffin. Eye-panels on the shoulders and vertical and horizontal inscriptions on the body were taken over from the now frequently abandoned rectangular coffins.² At Thebes at least, there were revived upon the anthropoid type scenes similar to those which had been current before the Twelfth Dynasty on rectangular coffins. The realistic "envelope" of the body thus became the typical coffin of the Empire.³

¹For the name only, see Lacau, *ibid.*, 28084, and above p. 48. The longer inscriptions occur on the coffins from Beni Hasan and Rifeh, on the *risbi* coffins and always afterward.

²The cross bands on the Rifeh anthropoid coffins above and the vertical columns on rectangular coffins seem to have been combined.

³A large collection of *risbi* and XVIIth-XVIIIth dyn. anthropoids will be seen in Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWELRY

THE burial equipment of jewelry worn by Senebtisi was very elaborate, and, as was to be expected in a Middle Kingdom tomb, of very excellent workmanship. The jeweler's was one of the earliest as well as one of the most popular of the Egyptian crafts. Even in the First Dynasty the art of soldering was well understood, and there are examples dating from this early period, such as the bracelets from the tomb of King Zer, which show considerable taste and skill. For the most part, however, Old Kingdom jewelry is simple and somewhat barbaric. In the Middle Kingdom, the period in which the Egyptians reached the high-water mark of technical skill, at least in the minor arts, the jewelry is correspondingly better than that of any other period. Later, under the Empire, it shows a distinct falling off. Too great facility had led to slipshod work, and the jewelry, even that of Aahhotep in the Seventeenth Dynasty, is distinctly inferior to that of the Dashur princesses.

Preliminary
notes

Senebtisi's jewelry is of the same type as that of the Dashur find, with the difference that in cases where solid gold was used at Dashur, in her tomb stucco covered with gold leaf was frequently substituted. So closely indeed are the two sites allied that there is hardly an object in the present tomb that cannot be paralleled in the Dashur tombs, and it would be possible, by comparing the two finds, to achieve a much more accurate restoration of the Dashur jewelry than has yet been attempted.

Present jewelry
similar to that
found at
Dashur

Some of the jewelry, such as the circlet and the best necklaces, may have been used by Senebtisi during her lifetime, but most of it was mere funeral furniture. The bead collars, for instance, would not have stood hard usage, and the bracelets and anklets were not made to go all the way round, but were just laid in position and kept in place by the bandaging. Funeral jewelry of this kind, in addition to its primary use as mere ornament, had a secondary and deeper meaning. The original idea was doubtless that of burying the dead person's personal property to be used by him or her again in the

Amuletic value
of the jewelry

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second life, but by degrees the various ornaments became traditional, and assumed the character of ceremonial cult objects. Collars, necklaces, and the other articles of jewelry all find a place among the regular burial outfit represented on the painted coffins. Each has its definite ceremonial name, and each has certainly an amuletic as well as an ornamental value. So sacred indeed did some of these objects come to be regarded in later times that on festival occasions the figures of the gods themselves were invested with them, as with a kind of order.

Its position in the tomb

The jewelry in this tomb was all placed upon the mummy, whereas at Dashur additional jewelry was found in some cases outside the coffin, buried in *caches*. In this latter case it is possible that the jewelry found within the coffin represents the ceremonial set provided for the funeral, whereas the *cache* jewelry consists of the less important, though probably intrinsically more valuable, objects which were actually worn during life.

We proceed now to a detailed description of the objects.

1. The Circlet

Construction of the circlet


Like the other jewelry from outside the wrappings of the mummy, the circlet (Pl. XXI and Fig. 28) had been dragged out of place by the resin (Pl. XV, A and B), but there could be no doubt as to its original position. It was made up of three independent sections of beaten gold wire, each twisted into a series of loops. At the back of the head the three sections were fastened by a thinner gold wire which ran in and out of the abutting loops of the larger wires and bound them together. Over the forehead the three sections were again caught together, but the fastening was of a much more elaborate character. The wires here ran straight instead of looping, the top one separate and the other two together, one being brought down to form a heart-shaped pendant on the forehead. All three wires were closely lapped over this part of the circlet with independent wire, the ends of the lapping wire serving to bind the three sections together.

Circlets from other sites

The only other circlet that has yet been found in position on the head is that from the so-called "tomb of Tiy,"¹ for the well-known examples from Dashur were deposited outside the coffin. In style our present circlet most resembles the circlet of princess Khnumit, figured in *Dabchour* II, Pl. IX, which has a similar system of looping wires, but is, of course, much more elaborate in its construction, and further enriched by a decoration of Maltese crosses and tiny flowers.

Circlets pictured on the coffins

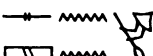
On the painted coffins the representations of circlets are—

- (a) Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II. This example, the color of which is probably meant to represent silver, is called . In appearance it resembles very much the fine circlet of King Antef in Leyden.²

¹Davis, *Tomb of Tiyi*, Pl. XX.

²Leemans, *Mon.* II, 34.

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(b) Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LIV, 491, called .

Circlets seem to have been in common use among the Egyptians, especially in early times; not merely on ceremonial occasions, but in scenes of every-day life. With a flower-loving people the custom probably originated in the wearing of simple garlands for purposes of adornment—in most of the early representations the circlets are clearly composed of actual flowers.¹ It was only natural, then, that when circlets came to be made in more durable and more valuable materials, it was usually a flower motive that was taken

Origin of the circlet

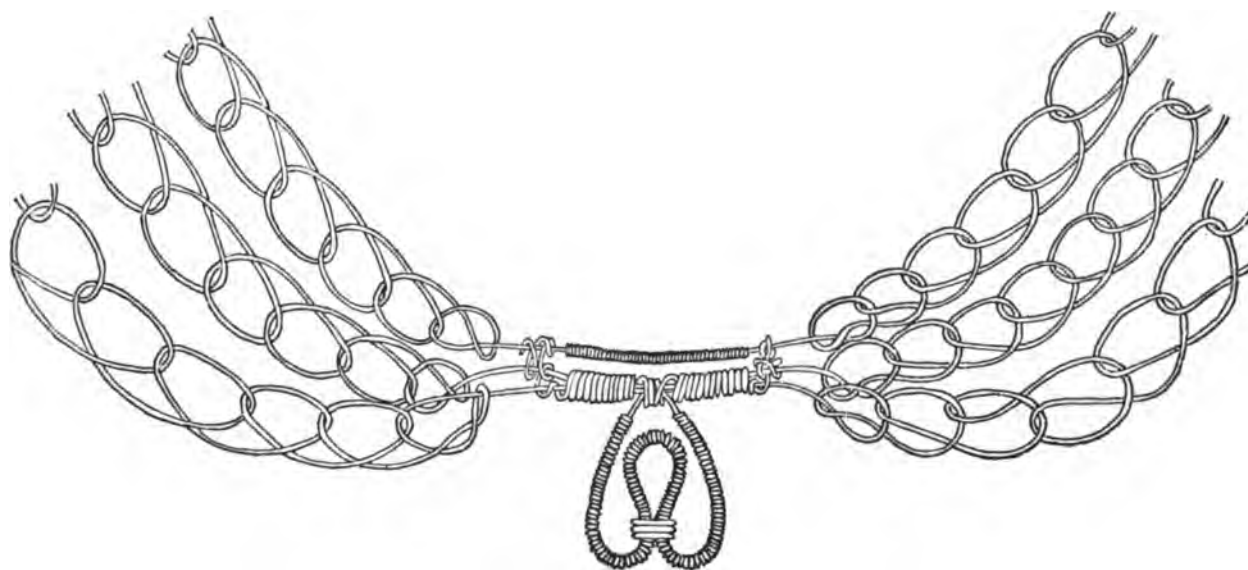


FIG. 28

CIRCLET OF TWISTED GOLD WIRE. SCALE 1 : 1

as a basis for the design. The introduction of heavy wigs made the circlet of practical use and gave rise to the familiar form of the narrow band of leather (?) decorated with rosettes of gold or silver.

2. The Rosettes

In addition to the circlet, 98 gold rosettes which had clearly been wig ornaments (Pl. XXI) were found embedded in the resin which had run down from the head (Pl. XV, B and C). Of the actual wig no trace remained, but the hair had in places left its cast in the resin, and it was clear from the position in which some of the rosettes lay that they had been bound at regular intervals to the separate locks. In 85 instances the rosettes were pierced with two holes for the threads that bound them to the wig to pass through (Pl. XXVIII, F), the remaining 13 having a strip of gold soldered across the back for the same purpose (Pl. XXVIII, D).

Purpose of the rosettes

¹Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 46, 90; Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. X.

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Construction The rosettes were made by beating the gold plate into dies, probably of wood. Two dies seem to have been employed, one with sixteen bars and the other with twelve.

Not known elsewhere Wig rosettes such as these have not, so far as we know, come to light anywhere else in Egypt; but, curiously enough, a wooden statuette head was found in the upper part of the pit-filling of this present tomb, where it had been thrown out from another tomb by plunderers, and on this there was a wig dotted all over with little squares of gold leaf, an evident imitation of an actual wig ornamented with rosettes.

3. The Necklaces

There were four necklaces in all, two of which, the "shell" and the "Sa-amulet," were placed on the outside of the mummy, and were found embedded in the resin (Pl. XV, D), while the "bes vase" necklace was within the wrappings, either next to the skin, or separated from it by a single thickness of cloth. The single bead necklace was not found in position. They are shown on Plates XXII, XXIII, and XXVI.

Composition of the shell necklace (1) *Shell Necklace*. This consisted of three strings of tiny beads, divided up into sections of 5 beads to a string by 25 sets of multiple gold beads. The beads were of carnelian, green felspar, and an imitation of lapis lazuli in blue frit, and were arranged in alternate sections. To the lower of the three strings were attached 25 gold shell-shaped pendants. The shells were about 2 mm. in depth. Like the rosettes they were made by beating thin sheet gold into a die, the little rings of attachment being soldered to them afterward. The gold multiples were made up of nine independent sheet metal beads, soldered first end to end in threes (Fig. 29, 1), and then together (Fig. 29, 2).



FIG. 29
METHOD OF SOLDERING GOLD
MULTIPLE BEADS. SCALE 2 : 1

Similar necklaces elsewhere This type of necklace seems to have been a favorite one among the Dashur princesses. In the publications¹ one complete necklace is represented, with 26 shells and sets of multiple beads; and in the Dashur cases in the Cairo Museum there are several other instances of shells and multiples—unstrung. No tiny beads are shown, but these may very well have been lost or overlooked. At Lisht also and on other Twelfth Dynasty sites single shells have been found in plundered graves.

Composition of the "Sa-amulet" necklace (2) *"Sa-amulet" Necklace*. This consisted of two strings of tiny green felspar beads, enclosing 21 "Sa-amulet"² pendants in electrum, carnelian, silver, green felspar, and a much decayed substance that was probably ivory. Of the latter only two remained, and they were in such bad condition that they could not be re-used; they have been replaced with imitations in wood. There were five electrum pendants, and apparently four of each of the other kind, arranged alternately in the order given above. Ten of the tiny beads separated

¹De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, Pl. XXIII.

²On this sign see Borchardt, *Ä. Z.* 1907, p. 77.

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the pendants on each of the strings, and in addition, on the upper string, there was a small globular silver bead on either side of each pendant.

Each of the pendants bore incised lines reminiscent of the folded mat with which they originated. The metal pendants had little rings soldered on at the top, and at the ends of the legs, for threading. Those of stone were pierced for the same purpose, the carnelian ones having little rings fashioned at the ends of the legs (Fig. 30, 2) in place of simple drilling (Fig. 30, 1). The holes in the middle of the stone pendants were also drilled, and still show the double and in some cases triple marks of the drill. The silver pendants and beads were much corroded.

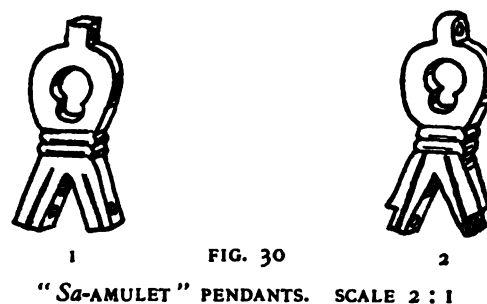


FIG. 30
"Sa-AMULET" PENDANTS. SCALE 2 : 1

There does not seem to have been a necklace of exactly this type among the Dashur jewelry, though the princess Khnumit had one that was very similar in general arrangement,¹ the pendants consisting of various hieroglyphs, graduated in size, of inlay and gold.

(3) "*Hes vase*" Necklace. The beads of which this necklace was composed were of carnelian, gold leaf over a composition core, green felspar, and a gritty paste, now brown in color, but which may originally have been blue, and have been meant to represent lapis lazuli. The carnelian, felspar, and brown beads were arranged in pairs alternately, one gold bead separating each pair. To the front of the necklace there was attached a gold cloisonné "*sben*" pendant, the inner cloison being filled with carnelian, and the outer with dark blue paste. The bottom of this pendant was cut from a single flat piece of sheet gold, the cloison rings being independent strips that were soldered to it afterward.

The beads of the necklace were all shaped in the form of the *hes* vase, the sacred libation jar, the peculiar form of which persisted from the earliest Egyptian times down to the very latest. Actual examples of this vase, both in pottery and metal, are common, and the occurrence of it in temple and tomb scenes is too familiar to need special reference. On the painted coffins it frequently finds a place.² In the *Sed* Festival scenes the king is occasionally represented as carrying two of these vases,³ and in the tomb of Mentuhotep a wooden statuette was found with a *hes* vase in its hand.⁴ Similar vase-shaped beads occur on a necklace in the Leyden Museum.⁵

Three pendants exactly similar to this one were found at Dashur,⁶ and on one of the

¹Cairo Museum, Case I, G. Jewelry Room.

²Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XXXII; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II.


³Mariette, *Denderah I*, Pl. 65; Gayet, *Louxor I*, Pls. XXXV and LVIII.

⁴Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentuhotep*, p. 31.

⁵Leemans, *Mon. II*, XXXV.

⁶De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, Pl. XX; *Dabchour II*, Pl. V, 32 and 33.

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painted coffins in the Cairo Museum there is a representation of one, with the name  written above.¹

Construction of
the clasp

(4) *Gold Clasp*. To one of these three necklaces, presumably either to (1) or (2), belongs the gold knot clasp shown on the same plate (XXII). The separate halves of which the clasp was composed are shown in Fig. 31 (see also Pl. XXVIII, A, B, and C). The method of fastening was simple, but very effective, consisting merely of a raised bar on the one half (see section) which slid into a corresponding groove in the other; so arranged, however, that the strain of the necklace only served to draw the clasp more tightly together. The threads of the necklace passed through the two upper legs of the clasp, which were left hollow, the two holes below the ridge and the groove in the body of the clasp being probably contrived to accommodate the knotted ends.

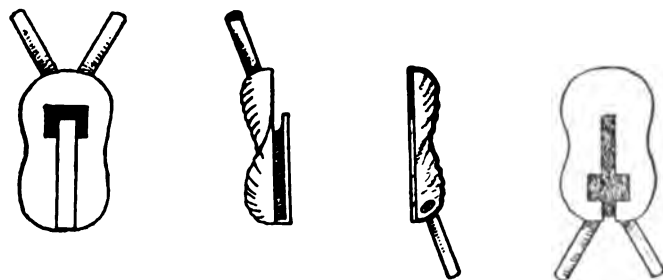


FIG. 31

GOLD CLASP; METHOD OF FASTENING. SCALE 2 : 1



FIG. 32

GOLD CLASP; CONSTRUCTION
SCALE 2 : 1

Each half of the clasp was made up of four separate pieces of thin gold plate (Fig. 32)—a flat piece, cut to shape for the bottom, a rounded back, probably struck in a die, and two tubes for the feet, one open, and the other turned over at the end. The bar was a separate piece again that was soldered on afterward.

Similar clasps
at Dashur

This system of sliding clasps was very common at Dashur, occurring both in "gir-dle-tie" form as here, and in the form of lions' heads. In an example of the former shown in *Dabchour* I, Pl. XV, the lower legs, which were not required for the necklace threads, end in lotus flowers.

Single bead
necklaces

(5) *Carnelian Bead*. After the mummy had been removed from the coffin there was found, in the dust underneath, a large carnelian bead, barrel-shaped, 15.5 mm. long, 9.5 mm. in diameter, and pierced for stringing on a cord 1.5 mm. thick. There was no evidence to show its original position on the body and therefore it was strung provisionally with the faience disk beads described below under (1) on page 74, and it is thus shown in Plate XXVI. Subsequent study of the beads on the throat of the anthropoid coffin² and those on the mummy of Hapi Ankhtifi from Meir, described on the next page, made it plain that this barrel-shaped carnelian bead was an actual specimen of which an imita-

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XXXVI, 112.

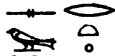




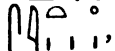
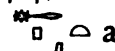
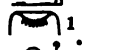
²See above, page 46.




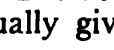
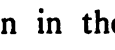
THE JEWELRY

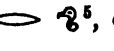
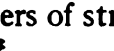
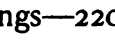


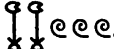
tion was inlaid on the coffin, and that therefore it must originally have been placed upon the neck of the mummy. Such beads were worn tied closely to the throat, strung on a thick twisted cord, either singly, or flanked at either end by a green bead of faience or felspar, cylindrical or spherical in shape. In the present instance no such spherical beads were found, and unless two cylindrical collar beads had been used, the carnelian bead must have been worn alone.

Representations of similar beads are common on the coffins under the names:

Occurrence on
the coffins

- A. , also written  and .
- B.  or , a later spelling of the above.
- C. , probably a misspelling of the last; and less commonly
- D.  and
- E. .

As the first two names are applied to the barrel-shaped beads regardless of whether they are strung singly or between two green cylindrical or spherical beads, they must refer to the barrel-shaped beads only, the other beads, when they appear, being merely a sort of setting. These barrel-shaped beads are almost invariably painted red in the coffin vignettes² and on the throats of masks and anthropoid coffins, and on these last where they are inlaid, they are always of carnelian. Their characteristic stone must, therefore, have been carnelian and thus the word , , , (rarely  and ) , which is the material usually given in the rubrics, must mean "carnelian."³ So typical had carnelian become of beads of this type that it is not uncommon to find them labeled simply *hrst*—"carnelians."⁴


The rubrics direct that they shall be attached "to the neck" , or "to his breast"  (). Occasionally they call for large numbers of strings—220, 330, or even "many kinds of *swit* beads, 2300," , , .

In the débris of the mummy of Hapi Ankhtifi from Meir, now in the Metropolitan Museum, there was found a barrel-shaped carnelian bead similar to the one from Senebtisi, and in addition two spherical green faience beads which, as they could not have been part of any of the other necklaces, must have been strung on either side of it.

Occurrence
elsewhere

¹For A, C, D, and E see Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LII and Index VII. For B see Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, p. 7, and *Mentubotep*, p. 29, where he shows *swrt* to be the older form.

²The only exception is Steindorff, *loc. cit.*, where three separate beads are shown, one blue, one red, and one green, with the rubric "many kinds of *swit* beads 2300."

³Brugsch *Wörterbuch* gives *hrst* as a precious stone, red or white. In the examples for the white stone the word *hrst* is modified by *hdt*, which must in this case simply mean "brilliant" and not affect the color, for the rubric to Cairo 28088 No. 75 is  over the usual red bead.

⁴See Lacau, *ibid.*, Index VII, *sub. voc.* *hrst*, and the outer coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi in the Metropolitan Museum.

⁵See below, page 66.

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4. The Collars

Evolution and
range of collars

Collars are perhaps the commonest of all the Egyptian forms of personal ornament, and are equally persistent in every period. The actual collars, it is true, are rare in very early graves,¹ but they are constantly represented on statues and on the earliest tomb reliefs that exist, and are clearly objects of familiar and every-day use. It is probable that the elaborate collar, as we know it, was gradually evolved from a single string of necklace beads, but none of the steps in this evolution are preserved, for the collars on the statues and reliefs before-mentioned are already so familiar as to be represented conventionally. The rows of beads and pendants are occasionally detailed, but more often they are depicted as mere outlines, or with conventional line patterns, which are quite unrecognizable as beads. Metal and strung bead collars seem to have been the rule up to the Middle Kingdom, but in the Empire a new form of collar was introduced, consisting of flowers, seeds, and beads sewn on a papyrus backing.

Ceremonial use
of collars

Originally ornamental, the use of the collar seems to have early developed into ceremonial. Even in the Old Kingdom, collars of different forms, often of gold, seem to have been common rewards for a king to bestow on successful officials. In the reliefs of the Fifth Dynasty pyramid temple of Sahure the courtiers are seen receiving their collars and attiring themselves with them, while the Eighteenth Dynasty scenes at Tell el Amarna, in which the king and queen are represented distributing gold collars from the palace balcony, have long been familiar.² At banquets, as we know from representations in the Empire tombs,³ collars—probably of the flower and seed type—were commonly presented to the guests. That there was a still deeper significance to the collar, however, than is implied by its use as a reward of merit or as a party gift, is manifest from the part it plays in the divine ritual, the king being not infrequently represented in temple scenes as kneeling before the gods, and presenting a ceremonial collar.⁴

Types of collars
represented on
the coffins

In the Middle Kingdom the collar cult seems to have been very elaborate. The painted lists of offerings on the coffins give collars a prominent place, and distinguish between a number of different varieties, each of which has its own distinctive name. One coffin, for instance (No. 28037 in the Cairo Museum Catalogue), has a whole register given up to collars, in which seven distinct varieties are named. The different types of collar are illustrated in Lacau's volume of the Cairo Museum Catalogue (Pl. LI), and from these and a number of other published coffins⁵ the following list of names of collars has been compiled—

¹A VIth dyn. collar was found by Reisner, *Mus. of Fine Arts Bull.* XI, p. 60.

²Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sazhu-re*, II, p. 61; Davies, *El Amarna* II, Pl. XXXIII; *El Amarna* IV, Pl. VII; *El Amarna* VI, Pl. XXIX. See also *Mission archéologique française* V, Pl. I-VI, where an official named Neferhotep receives a collar from Horemheb.

³Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 255.

⁴See, for example, Mariette, *Abydos* I, p. 51.

⁵Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pls. II and V; *Sebek-o*, Pl. II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 147 and 148; Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, Pl. XX; Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Pls. VI, VIII, and XI.

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<i>Metal.</i>	1.		Collar of gold.	Names of collars on the coffins
	2.		Collar of silver.	
	3.		Collar of electrum.	
<i>Cloisonné.</i>	4.		Collar of Horus.	
	5.		Collar of Nekhbet.	
	6.		Collar of Uazet.	
	7.		Collar of Uazet and Nekhbet.	

These four have a metal basis, on which the Hawk, Vulture, Uraeus, and Uraeus and Vulture respectively are worked, presumably, in cloisonné inlay of semi-precious stones (see Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LII).

<i>Stone.</i>	8.		Collar of green stone.	
	9.		Collar of lapis lazuli.	
	10.		Collar of turquoise.	
<i>Bead.</i>	11.		Collar of "The Lord of Eternity."	
	12.		Collar of different kinds of beads.	
	13.		Collar of "The Hawk."	
	14.		"To be worn in Kher Neter."	
	15.		"The magician" (?).	

In addition to these regular specified collars one also finds

16.		Collars of various kinds.
-----	--	---------------------------

This does not exhaust the list of Middle Kingdom collars.¹ There are a number of other smaller collars and necklets of various types which are not represented in Senebtisi's tomb, and which are therefore not within the scope of this inquiry.² Of the numbers on the list above, 2, 13, and 14 are represented with hawk shoulder-pieces; 1, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 15 have rounded shoulder-pieces, while 8, 9, and, of course, 16 have examples of both. The names are in many cases very carelessly and incorrectly written, and, as might be expected, there are numerous errors in ascription. The coffins must frequently have been painted at express speed to fill an order, and it would be only natural for the undertaker's scribe, through ignorance or carelessness or a mixture of both, to fail to get the right name over the right collar. To take a single instance—


¹Compare, for instance, the inlaid bead collar with its breast-piece, on the anthropoid coffin described above on page 46.




²Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pls. LII and LIII.

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No. 7, which we know belongs to a collar of enamel or cloisonné work, is in two instances written above what are obviously bead collars.

The *ma'nh*
counterbalance

In a number of instances a  of the same material follows immediately after each collar.¹ This seems to have been a kind of makeweight, which hung down the back as a counterbalance to the collar. It is curious that no actual example has ever been found in a grave;² a possible explanation being that the mummy, being horizontal, needed no counterbalance to its collar.

According to the rubrics the collars were to be applied  "to his breast" or  "to his neck." This latter must surely mean "neck," though it is a word apparently very little known. It reads *nrt*, for in some instances it is written .

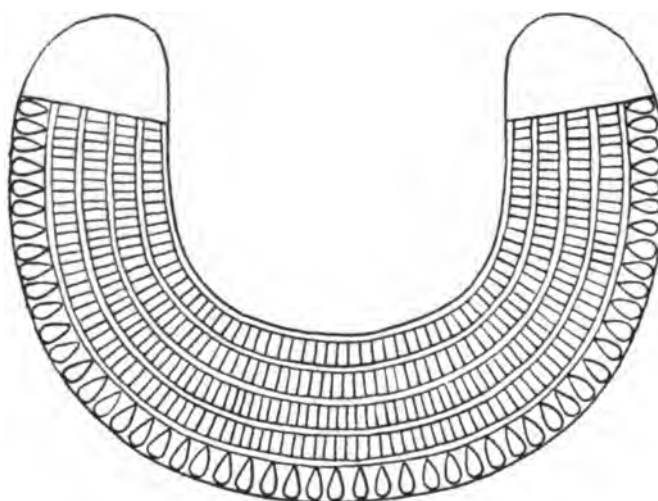


FIG. 33

COPPER COLLAR, COVERED WITH GOLD LEAF; RESTORED, SCALE 2:3

On the mummy of Senebtisi there were three collars, one of copper covered with gold leaf, and two of beads.

Imitation gold
collar

(1) *Copper Collar, covered with gold leaf* (Pl. XXVIII, J). The collar was badly decayed, but its original size—3.3 cm. in width at the bottom, and tapering to the ends—could be estimated from the remains of the gold leaf with which it had been covered (Fig. 33). The gold leaf is shown on Plate XXVIII, K: on both sides of the collar it was covered with an incised conventional collar pattern. This collar represents No. 1 of our list on page 65, the solid gold—as happens so often in this tomb—being replaced by a plated imitation.³


(2) and (3) *Bead Collars*. These probably represent Nos. 11 and 12 of our list,

¹ Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LII, 443. See also above, page 46, note 5.

² A painted one was found on the back of a mummy mask at Beni Hasan (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 177), and it is possible, as we shall have occasion to show later, that the hawk's head, wrongly placed in the Dashur whip restoration (De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, Pl. XXXIX), belonged to a bead *m'nh* of the type figured in Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LII, 440.

³ In the tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi at Meir there was an imitation gold collar of wood covered with gold leaf. This is now in the Metropolitan Museum (Accession No. 12.183.16).

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though the one with the hawk shoulder-piece is sometimes called on the coffins  (13). The first of the two is shown in photograph on Plate XXIV, A, and in color on Plate XXV. The hawk shoulder-pieces, the pendants, and some of the gold beads are restorations. The originals were made of plaster, covered with gold leaf, and had absolutely gone to pieces, leaving nothing but the thin shells of leaf. The size and details of the hawk heads were in part worked out from the remains of the leaf, and in part copied from similar heads in solid gold found at Dashur. The carnelian eyes, however, are original. The shape and size of the pendants were copied from the gold-leaf shells that remained. Of the gold beads about two thirds were made of plaster—these had to be restored—and the remainder consisted of gold leaf on faience.

Composition
of first bead
collar

The eight rows of beads, starting from the top, were made up as follows—

Row 1: gold leaf on plaster or faience.

Row 2: green felspar.

Row 3: gold leaf on plaster or faience.

Row 4: carnelian.

Row 5: gold leaf on plaster or faience.

Row 6: beads of some gritty composition, now brown, original color doubtful.¹

Row 7: gold leaf on plaster or faience.

Row 8: green faience.

The rows of beads that separated the pendants were composed of carnelian, green felspar, gold leaf on plaster, and the brown beads of Row 6. Of the two former classes one end of each bead was chipped away so that it might fit close to the threading hole of the pendant.

The second bead collar is shown in Plate XXIV, B. It was much simpler in design than the first. Each alternate row and the two rows of pendants consisted of small green faience beads, the rows of larger beads being made up of green felspar (top row), gold leaf on plaster or faience (middle row), and three rows of green faience. The shoulder-pieces and pendants, as in the case of the first collar, are restorations.

Composition
of second bead
collar

The exact order of the rows of beads in these two collars is quite certain, but the shape of the collars themselves is more or less conjectural. The beads were much scattered when found, and the size of the collars could only be worked out by calculations based on the number of beads of each particular type (see page 20).

Similar bead collars have been found in other Middle Kingdom sites. See, for example,—

Similar collars
elsewhere

DE MORGAN, *Dabchour* I, pp. 99 and 100, and *Dabchour* II, p. 58, for collars with hawk-headed shoulder-pieces.

Dabchour II, pp. 53 and 74, and

¹May have been imitation lapis lazuli.

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GARSTANG, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 112, for collars with semi-circular shoulder-pieces.

5. The Girdles

There were two girdles, the one being composed of tiny beads of gold and semi-precious stones (1), and the other of faience beads (2).

(1) *Girdle of tiny beads.* This girdle, perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most artistic of all the jewelry found in the tomb, had been placed, like the two finer necklaces, outside the mummy wrappings, and was found embedded in the resin that had collected on the west side of the coffin. It is shown in photograph on Plate XXII, and in color on Plate XXIII. The beads of which it was composed were of two kinds—

Composition
of first girdle

(a) Minute disks of gold, carnelian, green felspar, and lapis lazuli.

(b) Larger flattened ovoid beads with projecting arms,¹ of gold, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, and a yellowish composition that may have been intended to represent ivory.

The arrangement of the beads on the six strings was uniform in system. It consisted of the alternation of five small stone beads and one large one, an additional tiny gold bead being placed on either side of the latter. At regular intervals the three adjoining pairs of strings were united by gold connectors, consisting of two gold beads, similar in shape to the large stone ones, soldered together one above the other. In the center of the girdle the whole six strings were caught together by a compound gold connector, consisting of two pairs of double beads with a ring soldered between them, the two upper and two lower strings passing through the upper and lower pairs of double beads respectively, and the two middle strings through the ring.

Reconstruction
of first girdle

The beads, as we have already stated (p. 18), were so much scattered that only a few notes as to general stringing could be recovered. The number of the small beads between the large ones, the position of the tiny gold beads, and the fact that all the large beads in the sections between each two of the gold connectors were of the same material, were certain; but the number of large beads in each section was doubtful, as was also the order in which the various materials were alternated. The reconstruction was worked out from calculations based on the number of beads of each kind that were left—

Large beads. Gold 25 (counting the center connector as 3).

Carnelian 102. Green felspar 94.

Lapis lazuli 25. Imitation ivory 14.

¹It is possible that these beads may have derived their shape from the acacia bean. This, cut into lengths at the narrow points, supplies sections which are practically identical in shape with the bead. The beads may thus be a form survival of a primitive necklace made of bean pods.

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Small beads. Gold 481. Carnelian 476.
Green felspar 523. Lapis lazuli 499.

In the first place, since the gold connectors were used in sets of three, it is clear that in the original stringing there must have been at least twenty-seven. This commits us to a minimum of nine sets of large beads between the connectors, and it follows that, unless we adopt the very improbable hypothesis that more gold connectors than beads were lost, there must have been at least five beads to a section on each string. It also seems clear from the figures that there must have been a great many more of the carnelian and green felspar beads used than of the lapis lazuli and ivory: in our reconstruction we have made the two latter alternate with each other instead of coming in regular sequence. The small bead figures are so close as to make it almost certain that an equal number of each kind were used.

The present reconstruction is based on a principle of 5 beads to the section, and involves 11 sections. It would have required 30 gold connectors, 110 large carnelian beads, 110 large green felspar beads, and either 60 lapis lazuli and 50 ivory or 60 ivory and 50 lapis lazuli beads. Of the small beads 660 of each kind would have been required. A reference to the colored reproduction will show more clearly than words could do the alternations and combinations of materials adopted. Another possible reconstruction, based on 6 beads to the section, and involving 9 sections, would have required 27 gold connectors, 108 large carnelian beads, 108 large green felspar beads, 60 or 48 large lapis lazuli beads, 60 or 48 large ivory beads, 648 small gold beads, and 630 small beads of each of the other materials. A doubtful element in both reconstructions, and one that has a direct bearing on the number of gold connectors required, is introduced by the fact that we have no evidence whatever as to the method by which the girdle was fastened at the back. In the first reconstruction allowance is made for a clasp or fastening of some kind, whereas the second is based on the assumption that the pattern was continuous all the way round.

Among the Dashur jewelry there must have been several instances of girdles similar to this one. In *Dabchour* II, Pl. VIII, a number of the large flat beads are shown, of gold, green felspar, and lapis lazuli, strung together end to end, without any small beads between them. In the Dashur cases in the Jewelry Room of the Cairo Museum we find, in addition to the string already mentioned—

Similar girdles
at Dashur.

- Case I, E. A number of tiny gold, green felspar, and lapis lazuli beads, exactly similar to ours, all strung together.
- Case I, F. Large beads in gold, strung with various other gold beads.
- Case II, E. Twenty double and 6 single gold beads.

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This girdle was probably not a mere funeral ornament, but was used by Seneptisi during her lifetime. It belongs to the narrow type of girdle or belt worn by dancing girls, such as we see figured on Middle Kingdom glazed pottery dolls.

Composition
of second girdle

(2) *Girdle of large beads.* This was a much more elaborate girdle, consisting of three separate parts—a narrow band of closely worked beads round the waist, a series of pendent strings hanging to the knees, and a tail (photograph on Pl. XXVII, and colored reproduction of the center section on Pl. XXXI, C). Like the other girdle it had been placed outside the mummy wrappings, and had therefore fallen very much out of position.

Waistband

The waistband consisted of 40 rows of small faience beads. The top and bottom rows were of black beads, strung horizontally. The inner rows were all strung vertically. In the center there was a series of diamonds of dark green outlined with black, and on either side zigzag bands of light green, dark green, and black. A section of this band, with the beads in original order, was taken up in wax: it is shown above the tail on Plate XXVII, and in larger scale on Plate XXVIII, G. In the center of the band there was a name-plate of wood, covered with gold leaf, with the letters $\left| \begin{smallmatrix} \text{~~~~~} \\ \text{J} \end{smallmatrix} \right|$ inscribed on it in black paint (Pl. XXVIII, E). The wood of which this was composed had completely rotted away, so that it could not be ascertained whether this plate served as clasp to the girdle, or whether it was permanently fastened to it. It is possible also that the final $\left| \right|$ of the name was originally present.

Pendent strings
of beads







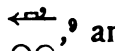
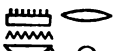
To the lower border of the band, on either side of the name-plate, there was attached a series of independent strings of larger beads. The strings on the left side of the mummy were composed of green and dark blue lentoid faience beads, strung alternately with square black foliated beads, these latter being pierced for threading both vertically and horizontally. At the top of each string, next to the band, there was a bead of green faience, shaped like the conventional papyrus umbel, and pierced vertically for threading with a double outlet at the top. On the right side of the mummy the strings were composed of long cylindrical beads of black(?) faience, with a conventional "lily" at the top of each instead of papyrus. At the bottom of each string, both on the right side and on the left, there was a small round bead of black(?) faience.

Tail of second
girdle

The tail could only be taken up in fragments, but most of the details of its construction were recovered (see Fig. 34). The core (shaded in the section) was of wood, thick at the top, narrow in the shaft, widening out for the tuft, and narrowing down again at the tip. As far as could be ascertained, with the exception of a piece 1.6 cm. long at the bottom, this core was made in one piece. The thick end at the top, 5 cm. long, and the ferrule at the bottom (8 mm.) were covered with gold leaf. Over the rest of the tail the core was completely covered with small faience beads, strung horizontally over the shaft and tip, design not clear, and vertically over the tuft in zigzag

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patterns. The length of the tail could only be approximated, and the width of the tuft was doubtful. There was nothing to show in what way the tail was fastened to the girdle.

This was probably a ceremonial burial-girdle rather than one of ordinary life, and it is evident from the painted coffins that the somewhat peculiar arrangement of the beads was ritualistic, and not due to mere chance or whim. One of the anthropoid inner coffins in the Cairo Museum is decorated with a similar girdle, which has a waistband, papyrus and "lily" heads, and the same lentoid, foliated, and cylindrical beads, all arranged in exactly the same way.¹ On the coffin of Sebek-o² the same girdle is represented among the painted offerings, and in this case the name, , is written above it. On the coffin of Mentuhotep³ a tailed girdle of different design has been given, probably through error, the same name. Other types of girdles figured on the coffins are named  (with tail),⁴ ,⁵ and ,⁶ or ,⁷ the latter being apparently of cloth; while girdle tails figured separately are called ,⁸ ,⁹ and .¹⁰

At Lisht girdles of this kind, judging from the numbers of similar beads found in plundered graves, must have been very common. At Dashur also there were a number of examples; indeed, an examination of the Dashur cases in the Cairo Museum seems to point to the fact that a girdle of this type must have been provided for all the royal burials. One of them is recorded in *Dabcbour II*, p. 52:

"La ceinture d'Ita (ou peut-être les ceintures) était ornée au centre d'une plaque d'argent servant de fermoir, grâce à une glissière."

And again, p. 54:

"La momie, à partir du creux de l'estomac, était couverte d'un réseau de perles longues en forme d'olive. Les unes sont en cornaline, les autres de terre émaillée verdâtre. Dans l'ensemble, qu'elles formaient en recouvrant la morte, elles étaient réunies par de petites rosaces quadrifoliées de terre émaillée."

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XX.

⁴Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. L, 408.

⁷*Ibid.*, Pl. V.

¹⁰Steindorff, *Mentubotep*, Pl. III.

²Steindorff, *Sebek-o*, Pl. II.

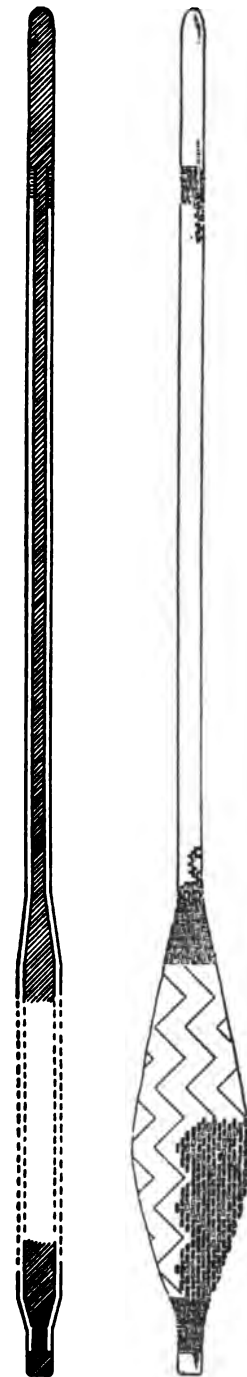
⁵Steindorff, *Sebek-o*, Pl. II.

⁹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. L, 409.

³Steindorff, *Mentubotep*, Pl. III.

⁶Steindorff, *Mentubotep*, Pl. III.

⁸*Ibid.*, Pl. L, 408 and 409.



Similar girdles
pictured on the
coffins

Similar girdles
elsewhere

FIG. 34
TAIL OF GIRDL
SHOWING BEADWORK
AND WOODEN CORE
SCALE ABOUT 1 : 2

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Similar girdles
continued

We note also in the Museum cases—

Case I, A. Lentoid and foliated beads in green faience.

B and G. Papyrus heads, lentoid and foliated beads, in carnelian and green faience. Strung here as a kind of network, with the papyrus heads at the bottom.

E. Papyrus heads in green faience and in faience(?) covered with gold leaf; "lilies" in dark faience; cylindrical beads in green faience; lentoid beads in carnelian; foliated beads in faience(?) covered with gold leaf; and small round gold beads, similar to our faience ones at the bottom of the strings. Also two pieces of wood core covered with beadwork from the tail.

Case II, B. Lentoid and cylindrical beads in green faience.

F. Lentoid beads in carnelian; cylindrical beads in dark green faience; and foliated beads in black faience.







G. Lentoid, cylindrical, and small round beads in green faience; and foliated beads in faience(?) covered with gold leaf. These are all strung together on long strings.

In a Middle Kingdom grave in Nubia there has been found a beadwork belt of almost identical construction and design similar to the waistband of this girdle.¹ Both this beadwork belt and that of Seneptisi are strongly reminiscent of those which support the kilts, and sometimes beadwork aprons, of gods and kings in Old Kingdom reliefs and which, therefore, were probably of beadwork also.²

6. The Bracelets and Anklets

Like the collars, bracelets and anklets seem in early times to have been considered almost essential articles of daily adornment. They appear regularly both on the statues and on the figures in tomb reliefs, depicted either in outline, or with patterns so conventionalized that it is impossible to say whether they represent metal or beadwork. Like the collars again, they seem to have outgrown their original purely ornamental value, and to have developed into ceremonial cult objects. Thus, in temple scenes we find the figures of the gods being invested with them as part of the festal regalia,³ and again on the painted coffins they occur with great regularity, and are accorded a prominent place.⁴

Bracelets and
anklets
pictured on the
coffins











The names by which they were known, as given in the coffins, were   (also spelt  ), sometimes determined with the plural sign, and  , in the dual form.








¹Firth, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia* II, Pl. 48.

²For example, Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa-hu-re* II, Pls. 18, 39, etc. ³Mariette, *Abydos* I, p. 48.

⁴See, for example, Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. LI; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II, *Mentubotep*, Pls. II, III, V; Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, p. 76; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 147; Garstang, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Pl. VI.

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The former is used indifferently with either bracelets or anklets, whereas the latter is apparently used only with anklets. In one case the name  is given, but this is probably a scribal error, as the name belongs to a necklace, consisting of a single cylindrical bead strung like No. 5 above, on page 62. After the name we get the preposition  (after ) or  (after ) and the signs for "arms," written , , or , and "legs," written  or . Finally we are given in some cases the materials of which the bracelets and anklets were composed—

- (a)  "gold."
- (b)  "electrum."
- (c)  or  "lapis lazuli."
- (d)  or  "turquoise."
- (e)  "various kinds" of stones, or possibly "various kinds" of bracelets and anklets.

The present bracelets and anklets (Pl. XXVI) were found inside the wrappings, next to the skin. The beads of the bracelets were much scattered, but the anklets were still held in position by the bandaging, and the exact order of the beads could be recovered. On Plate XV, E and F, are shown two photographs of the lower part of one of the legs, with the anklet still in place: in the first, the beads show through the cracks in the bandaging, while in the second, part of the cloth has been removed, and a complete section of the anklet laid bare. The beads were removed from the cloth one by one, and laid on a board in exact relative position, ready to be threaded. Our reconstruction is thus correct, not merely in general arrangement, but in exact order of the beads. Each anklet consisted of eight strings of beads, divided into four sections of two beads to a section by means of wooden bars covered with gold leaf. The beads were of dark green and black (?) faience, the two colors alternating, so that within each section there was a band of each color. The threading was not very regular: in two instances in one anklet and one in the other an extra ninth bead was added to the width, and there was one instance in which two small beads were placed end to end in place of one large one. The original wood of the bars had shrunk and decayed away, and in the reconstruction fresh pieces of wood were used, with the original gold leaf pasted over them.

Reconstruction
of the bead
bracelets and
anklets

The bracelets were exactly similar in style to the anklets, but it was evident, from the number of beads and wooden bars, that they consisted of only three sections instead of four. In addition to the bead bracelet, and below it, there was on the left wrist a second bracelet, consisting of a plain band of gold leaf on plaster, about 2.5 cm. wide. The plaster had gone to powder, and the gold leaf was crumpled and torn.

Plaster and
gold leaf
bracelet

These bracelets and anklets were evidently mere funeral equipment. The gold leaf




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bracelet was much too fragile to be worn in life, while the other bracelets and the anklets were in no case long enough to go round the wrist or the ankle; nor, as far as could be ascertained, were their ends fastened together in any way at the back. They were simply laid on and were kept in position by the bandages.

Similar
examples at
Dashur

Among the Dashur jewelry there are as usual a number of parallels to be noted—

Plain gold bracelets. De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, Pl. XVII; *Dabchour* II, p. 53.

Bead bracelets and anklets. De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 99, where the connecting bars were of wood covered with gold leaf, as here; *Dabchour* II, p. 48, where the connectors were of solid gold, in the shape of the hieroglyphs , , and . The beads were of carnelian, lapis lazuli, and green felspar.

7. *Beads, etc., the position of which was doubtful*

Most of these apparently came from the region of the waist, as they were found among the scattered beads from the girdle.

(1) String of 450 faience disk beads (Pl. XXVI). Originally they were probably all green, though many of them are now much discolored. They were crudely and irregularly made, being occasionally almost wedge-shaped. Some of them can be seen among the pendent girdle beads in Plate XIV, A. It was thought at first that they had some connection with the girdle, their string passing through the horizontal threading holes of the foliated beads, but closer investigation showed that they belonged to an independent string. With them was strung provisionally a large carnelian barrel-shaped bead described above on page 62.

(2) String of 83 cylindrical faience beads (Pl. XXVI). The original color of the beads is doubtful; they now show a brown discoloration. There was a certain amount of evidence that they formed an independent string, three cases being found of two beads strung together end to end, and one of three. One such bead occurs in the beadwork of the tail; but as it is the only one of its kind, and is out of proportion to its surroundings, this was probably due to a mistake on the part of the original maker.

(3) Carnelian hawk pendant (Pl. XXVI). This may have been strung on one of the bead strings (1 or 2). A number of similar hawk pendants were found in the Dashur graves, and in several instances their position was noted as being in the neighborhood of the mummification incision.¹ This may have been accidental, but it is significant that Horus was supposed to have superintended the mummification of his father's body, and was therefore accounted the protector of mummies. It was the Children of Horus, moreover, who were the traditional guardians of the viscera.

¹De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 113; *Dabchour* II, p. 54.

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(4) Five small faience cylindrical beads, which had originally been strung on copper wire. Length of bead, 3.7–5.5 mm.; diameter, 2.7–3 mm.

(5) Red jasper disk bead. Diameter, 3.7 mm.; thickness, 2 mm.






(6) Silver spike (Pl. XXVI). Length, 4.5 cm., tapering slightly to the end. At the smaller end there was a spherical faience bead, broken in half by the rusting of the spike. On the shaft there were traces of very fine gold leaf.

(7) Broken tube of copper. Length, 2.2 cm. +; diameter, 4.5 mm.; thickness of metal, 1 mm.

CHAPTER V

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

Ceremonial
value of the
staves

THE practice of depositing ceremonial sceptres with the dead is peculiar to the Middle Kingdom, and marks a new stage in the development of the Egyptian's ideas with regard to the future life. This change of ideas is indicated clearly enough by the character of the burial offerings in the various periods. It would be outside the scope of the present volume to go into the question in detail, but the trend of development may be summarized briefly as follows: In the earliest times the second life was but a continuation of the first, and the dead were thought of as men; in the Middle Kingdom the dead became gods by the mere fact of dying; whereas in the Empire and later period they achieved divinity only through their own personal exertions, by means of charms and amulets. Thus in the Old Kingdom the staves and weapons deposited in the grave were those of daily use—bows, spears, the long stick so frequently represented in tomb-reliefs and stelæ, which corresponds to the modern *nabut*, and occasionally the curious implement which was carried in the right hand, and which is usually known as the "*sekhem*." This last may have been a staff of office. It was not primarily a divine sceptre, for until late times it is never represented with a god, and from its being carried so constantly in the scenes of daily life depicted in the tombs it seems clear that in the first instance it belonged to the living rather than to the dead. It should be noted that in the lists of offerings on painted coffins the common names for the staff are , , , and , whereas the name  occurs but rarely. In the Middle Kingdom the weapons were in many cases retained, but in addition we find a number of sceptres which were definitely recognized as divine emblems, and which were intended to secure for their owners the divine power. From the Empire downward the use of sceptres as burial offerings, and in a measure that of weapons also, was discontinued, their place being taken by amulets.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

Sets of ceremonial staves such as the one now under discussion have not infrequently been found, but have been recorded in only seven other instances—in the graves of King Hor,¹ Queen Nub-hotep,² and the Princesses Ita,³ Khnumit,⁴ Ita-urt,⁵ and Sit-hathor-merit⁶ at Dashur, and in a grave found by Gautier and Jéquier at Lisht.⁷ The various staves are, however, commonly represented among the offerings on painted coffins, and, fortunately for us, their names are usually written above them.⁸

Other examples
of ceremonial
staves

Not infrequently, as in the present tomb, two sets of staves were employed, one placed in the coffin with the body, the other in a long box specially constructed to receive them.⁹ The staves of the second set had in this case suffered from exposure, and were hardly recognizable, but those of the former set, the staves within the coffin itself, were in fairly good condition. They were deposited between the layers of the linen shawls that had been laid upon the mummiform coffin, the long double staff (1 in Fig. 35) being laid by itself on the right of the mummy, and the others on the left. This arrangement of the individual staves seems to follow a definite rule¹⁰ and must have had a ritualistic significance.

Two sets of
staves
sometimes
employed

It has been noted, in the case of similar finds elsewhere,¹¹ that in some instances the staves were broken intentionally at the time they were deposited in the grave. In this case, as we shall see later, though there were instances of intentional "killing," particular care was taken with most of the staves to preserve them intact. Joints, where the staff was composed of two or more pieces, were carefully pegged together; extra pegs were added where the wood showed a tendency to split; and in some cases an extra piece was spliced on to strengthen a defective place in the wood. In this tomb, and so far as one can judge in the other recorded examples also, it was the bows and ordinary sticks that were broken, the divine sceptres being left intact, and carefully protected from damage.

Intentional
breaking of the
staves

There is a further question that arises with regard to the use of these staves. Why is a woman after death provided with bows and other implements appropriate only to men, and with the sceptres of gods rather than the papyrus sceptre of a goddess? In the earlier graves a distinct difference was made between the burial furniture provided for men and for women, and, as a rule, one is not forced to rely on the skeleton alone for determination of sex. In the Middle Kingdom the sex distinctions are not nearly so marked. There are still certain definitely feminine objects, more particularly among the jewelry, that are only found in a woman's grave, but she may also have things buried

Explanation of
the occurrence
of staves in a
woman's grave

¹De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, p. 96.

²*Ibid.*, p. 109.

³De Morgan, *Dabchour II*, p. 46.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁷Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 78.

⁸See, for example, Pls. XV–XVII in Lacau's admirable catalogue of the early coffins in the Cairo Museum; also Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II, and *Mentuhotep*, Pls. III and V; Lepsius, *Denkmäler II*, 98, 145, 147, 148; and Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, Pl. XX.

⁹See De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, pp. 95 and 109.

¹⁰See De Morgan, *Dabchour II*, pp. 46 and 55.

¹¹De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, p. 95; *Dabchour II*, p. 60; Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 79.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

with her that are just as distinctively a man's. It is the growth in popularity of the Osirian theory of the dead to which one must probably look for the answer to the question. Women, equally with men, became Osiris after death, and hence, losing their sex, required the weapons of a man and the sceptres of a god for the new life that lay before them.

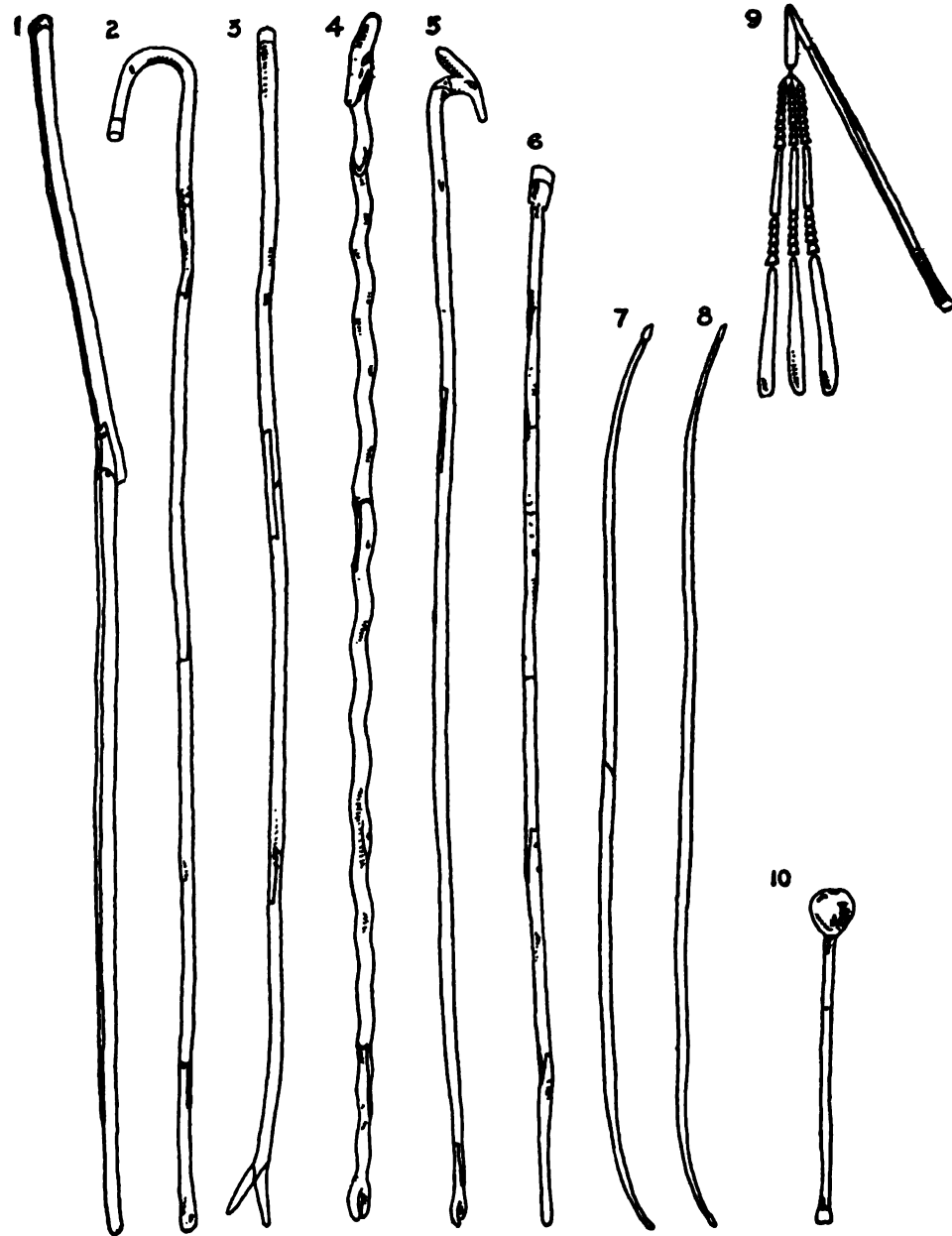


FIG. 35

WOODEN STAVES. SCALE ABOUT 1 : 10







The set of staves found within the coffin is shown in Fig. 35 (see also Pl. XXIX).

1. *The Double Staff*







This curious jointed staff, with double section and conventional binding round the joint, which is always placed by itself, away from the other staves, on the right side of

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

the mummy, has never been satisfactorily explained. De Morgan¹ calls it "*un instrument de bois dont je n'ai pu reconnaître l'usage;*" Gautier and Jéquier² catalogue it simply as a "*sceptre;*" Steindorff³ labels it "*Zweck unbekannt;*" while Lacau⁴ evades the question altogether by calling it an "*objet.*"

The staff itself is figured with great regularity, though in very conventionalized form (Fig. 36), among the painted offerings on the coffins,⁵ the common name for it being , also written , , , , and . It frequently occurs in sets of four, and then the names given are—

Occurrence on the coffins, and names there applied to it

- A. .
- B. .
- C. , also written , or .
- D. .

Also on one coffin (Cairo Museum 28123) there is a set of four labeled—

- E. .

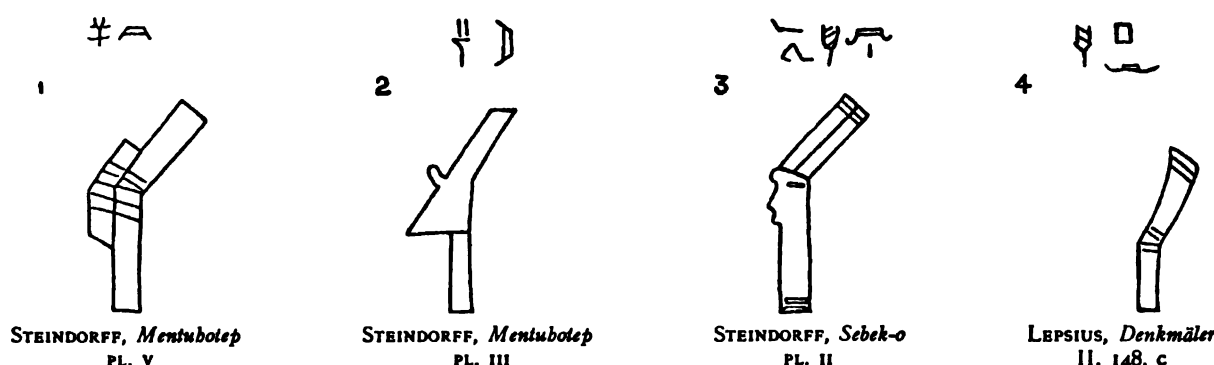



FIG. 36

CONVENTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF BENT STAVES ON THE COFFINS

The first name seems to imply a definite connection of some kind with the bow ,⁶ and Brugsch translates it "*stehender Bogen*" or "*Bogen-stand.*" Yet how could a staff of this nature serve the purpose named, or indeed any other purpose connected with the use of a bow? It is clear, moreover, that its use as an adjunct to the bow, if such ever existed, had been lost sight of by the time of the Middle Kingdom,

Connection with the bow?


¹De Morgan, *Dabchour* II, p. 48.

²Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

³Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, p. 21.

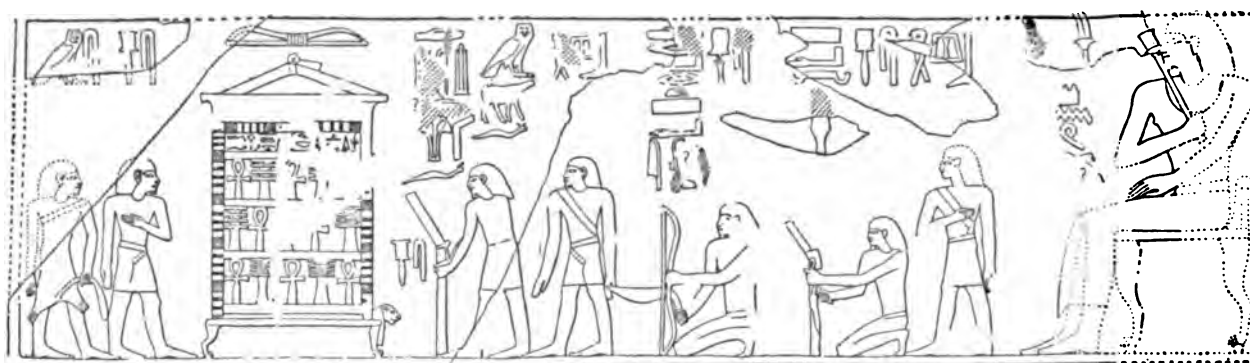
⁴Lacau, *Sarcophages* I, p. 104.

⁵Lacau, *op. cit.*, Pls. XLV and XLVI; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II, and *Mentubotep*, Pls. III and V; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 148c.

⁶Objection has been made to the connection with the bow on the ground that the name lacks the feminine termination. The feminine form, however, is not unknown, and the word for bow itself is not infrequently written on the coffins without the  termination.

THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI


for on the coffins the staff is never placed in immediate proximity to the bow. It would seem, indeed, that the decorators of coffins had very hazy ideas as to the purpose of the staff, for they placed it in very haphazard positions, not infrequently among the garments. Further, if this had been an ordinary object of well-known use, we should have plenty of representations of it on the monuments in the scenes of daily life. As a matter of fact, there is, in the early tombs, not a single representation of it, and in the later, so far as we can trace, it occurs only once—in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef at Kurneh (Fig. 37). In this scene the bow and the bent staff are placed side by side, and it is clear that in the opinion of the artist who executed the relief there was a close relationship between the two objects. He represents in the first place the




DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, PL. VI

FIG. 37


REPRESENTATIONS OF THE BENT STAFF IN THE TOMB OF MENTUHERKHEPESHEF




bow and the staff being sawn in two preparatory to their deposition in the tomb. A third figure is preparing to lay them in their places, and finally, on the left of the picture, we see the two objects lying side by side on top of the chest. The whole scene from which this single register is taken is very curious, and the tomb as a whole has a number of unusual points about it. We must infer, either that Mentuherkhepeshef alone had preserved the secret of the original connection between the bow and the bent staff, or, what is much more likely, that the two objects were associated by mistake, the artist being misled by the apparent identity of name. In any case it is quite certain that at the time of the tomb in question, and throughout the whole of the later period, the  staff conveyed another, and a much deeper significance.

Use as a divine
symbol

An intimation of this original or secondary meaning, whichever it may be, is to be found in the representation of the Sed Festival of Osorkon II at Bubastis. Here, among a number of other priests who bear divine emblems, there is one carrying the bent staff (Fig. 38), and above him is written the distinguishing title of the emblem he carries, . It is clear from this that the staff was either *per se* a divinity, or that it was

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

regarded as the distinctive symbol of a divinity. Direct confirmatory evidence of the truth of the former of these hypotheses is supplied by the royal tombs at Thebes. In the tomb of Amenhotep III we find among the other divinities a god who is actually known by name as  (Fig. 39), and in tomb No. XI (Fig. 40) a similar figure occurs.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, then, the bent staff was regarded, not as a kind of appanage or corollary of the bow, but as directly representing a god. Now  is a word frequently used for "pillar" or "support," and in the Pyramid Texts  is on several occasions identified with ,¹ the exact shade of meaning involved being possibly the

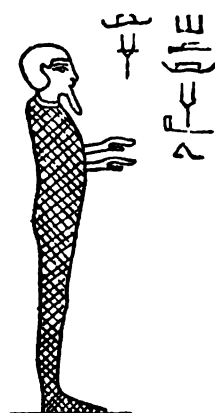
Connection
with Ptah



NAVILLE, *Festival
Hall of Osorkon*
PL. II

FIG. 38

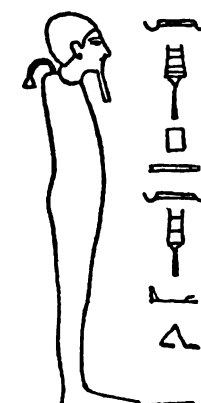
THE BENT STAFF
CARRIED IN
PROCESSION AS
AN EMBLEM



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*
III, 79, b

FIG. 39

THE BENT STAFF IDENTI-
FIED WITH A DEITY



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*
III, 225, c

FIG. 40

ANOTHER REPRESENTATION OF THE "BENT
STAFF" DEITY



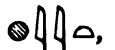

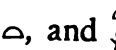
"bow" or "arch" of the vault of the heavens as opposed to heaven itself. Further, the two deities in the tombs are both represented in the form of Ptah, and Ptah, as we know from his invocatory hymns, was the god who raised up the heaven from the earth, and fashioned for it its supports. This being the case, it is tempting to regard the staff as a manifestation or symbol of Ptah, the sets of four figured on the coffins representing the four pillars on which the vault of the heavens was supported.² That the actual vault of the heavens was separated from the earth, either by bodily agency or by means of pillars, was one of the most popular conceptions of the Egyptian religion. In addition to the




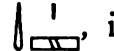

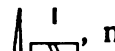




¹ See, to take two examples, Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*,

1443  
1004  

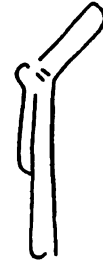
² The translation of the name presents difficulties; indeed, any attempt to extract the original meaning from a magical name is sure to lead one into dangerous and highly debatable ground. If it were permissible to read "*h' pdt*" instead of "*pdt .h'*" one might translate "the support of the bow of heaven." Could the name mean simply "the bowed or bent support?"

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Ptah myth already referred to, there was the god Shu, who was represented half kneeling on the earth, and holding up the heavens with his outstretched arms. Then there were the pillars of Shu, which supported the four corners, and were usually figured . In later times the Children of Horus were identified with the cardinal points, and were held to be the supporters of the four corners of heaven. Again at Denderah¹ the four supports of heaven were represented as female figures, who were called , , , and .

So far we have confined ourselves to one only of the names with which this staff was identified. There are fortunately four others, and the evidence they supply is in direct confirmation of the tentative theory of the symbolism of the staff put forward above. In the first place, names B, C, and D imply definite connection with divinity, and could have no application to a mere "bow-stand."  must presumably be translated "that which belongs to the god," and similarly  would appear to mean "the things (staves) of the god." From the last two names,  and , it is evident that there was an intimate association of ideas between this staff and No. 6 of our list. Both are called . This is a word-sign of many meanings and of disputed derivation. It has been interpreted variously as the support for a fowler's net, the float of a fisherman's harpoon, and the framework of a mud sealing. The sign itself, as it is usually written, is so conventionalized as to be quite unintelligible, but on a coffin found at Lisht² there are examples which seem to show its origin quite clearly. It consisted of two bundles of reeds, fastened together at one end, but with the other ends loose, though connected with a cord to prevent their spreading too far. It most probably represents the supports of a temporary reed structure, of the kind that is used so commonly in Egypt at the present day. The name , moreover, which is given to a set of four (Cairo Museum 28123) is clearly identical with the names given to the other staff: , , , and . There seems good reason to believe that this latter staff, as we shall show later, was intended to symbolize a "pillar" or "support," and therefore it is only natural to suppose that the staff under discussion had a similar meaning.

If, however, we are to associate both of these staves with the pillars of heaven, the questions immediately arise why two separate staves were needed to symbolize the same idea, and further what was the origin of the peculiar shape of the bent staff. As a hieroglyph the bent staff is common enough, though occasionally confused with the crooked finger, the throw-stick, or the balance.³ It is transliterated *rs* and its ordinary



GRIFFITH
Hieroglyphs, PL. V



FIG. 41
EIGHTEENTH
DYNASTY EXAMPLE
OF THE
"BENT STAFF"
HIEROGLYPH

Connection
with staff No. 6

The staff as a
hieroglyph

¹ Mariette, *Denderah* II, Pl. 55.

² Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Lisht*, Pl. XXI.

³ In this last case there is probably a real connection in origin between the two signs. The balance is frequently written , a form in which the essential part of the sign is clearly identical with the bent staff . In the pyramid

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

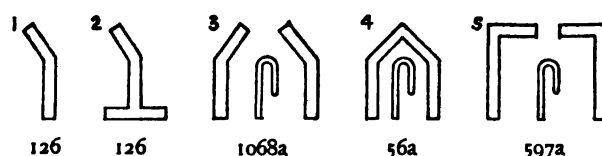
meaning as a word-sign is "to awake." The identification of the staff with the hieroglyph is proved clearly enough by the Fourth Dynasty example of the latter in Fig. 42. The object seems to have consisted originally of two straight sticks side by side, either lashed together, or seen in perspective one behind the other, to the ends of which were jointed obliquely two shorter sticks, the joints being secured either by simple binding, or, if the coffin drawings are to be relied on, by splints consisting of angled pieces of wood. Fig. 41 shows an Eighteenth Dynasty example of the hieroglyph, apparently single in section, but with a well-defined binding over the joint. These representations of the jointed sticks leave us still very much in the dark as to the purpose or use for which the objects in question were intended. In the Pyramid Texts, however, there are alternative forms that are much more enlightening. It occurs here in five different forms (Fig. 43). In (1) and (2) we have the single stick represented by our other



From a relief in the
Berlin Museum

FIG. 42

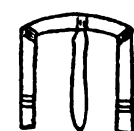
FOURTH DYNASTY
EXAMPLE OF
THE "BENT STAFF"
HIEROGLYPH



SETHE, *Ältaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*

FIG. 43


PYRAMID TEXT VARIATIONS ON THE SHAPE OF THE
"BENT STAFF" HIEROGLYPH



PETRIE, *Medum*
PL. XIII



FIG. 44

FOURTH DYNASTY
"SHRINE"
HIEROGLYPH

examples; in (3) and (5) there are two sticks placed opposite to one another with the angled ends pointing inward; and in (4) the sticks are joined to form a gable. This last example is clearly derived from the  sign, which stands for a "hall" or "shrine," and the reasons immediately become obvious, both for the association of the two staves, and for the identification of the names of both with "pillars" or "supports." Fig. 44 gives a Fourth Dynasty example of the shrine, in which the straight support is almost exactly of the same pattern as the representation on the coffins of staff No. 6.¹

The *rs* hieroglyph and the *pdt* *h* staff thus represent the supports or beams which served as a framework for a primitive wooden building. In its earliest origin the building may well have been constructed of reeds with the tops bent over and tied to form a

The shape
derived from
the support of
a wooden
building

texts a form  occurs, which, as we shall see (Fig. 43), approximates closely to an alternative form of the bent staff in the same texts, and, moreover, it is extremely common, much too common to warrant the assumption in every case of a mere scribal error, to find the word *rs* (bent staff) determined by the *ts* (balance) sign. Granting the connection between the two signs, it is significant that the ordinary meanings of the word *ts* are "to carry" or "to raise up," and that there is a word actually in use —with a "sky" determinative upheld by pillars—which means "the elevation of heaven."

¹ For this point see also description of staff (6) on p. 90.

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roof. Later, when wood came more into use, the roof beam was fastened to the side beam by a method of binding or an angle-piece round the joint, and it must have been at this stage in the evolution of building that the sign was taken over into use as a hieroglyph. At the time when hieroglyphs were invented the objects taken over as word-signs were naturally in many cases primitive and rough, and in the writing these primitive forms were perpetuated, even though the actual objects had in daily life been long superseded. It was for this reason that in representing pillars or supports the primitive wooden forms were used, rather than the elaborate and actually more familiar forms of stone. This particular form of primitive wooden building was the one usually identified with shrines and ceremonial halls, and for this reason the pillars by which it was supported would assume a semi-sacred character. It was only natural that in their imaginings of a concrete heaven the Egyptians should have selected the same forms of pillars by which it was to be upheld.

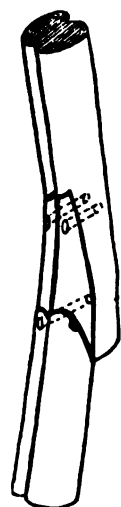


FIG. 45
ELBOW
JOINT OF
STAFF
NO. 1

In the fifth and last of the Pyramid Text forms of the hieroglyph the jointed upper stick is placed at right angles to the lower. This shows a slight variation in the method of fastening the roof beam, and incidentally furnishes an explanation of the common Egyptian word-sign "to conceal," in which a figure is represented in hiding, crouching down behind one of the supporting beams of a wooden structure.

The conclusions to which we have been led may be stated briefly as follows. The bent staff represents in the first place the corner supports of the building the center support being represented by staff No. 6. From its use in the construction of shrines it was adopted to symbolize the supports of heaven. Finally, it was deified as one of the manifestations of Ptah, the god who fashioned the heaven and raised it up from the earth. It is just possible that in the very beginning it had some sort of use in connection with the bow, but it is unlikely. There is but one representation of it that supports this view, and that may very well be due to a mistake, the later Egyptian, like the modern Egyptologist, being led into error by a mistranslation of its name.

This staff was, as we have already stated, found at the right of the mummy, quite apart from the other staves. Presumably it was intended to be held in the right hand, the rubrics on the coffins directing that it was to be placed "in his grasp?", or "before his face."

The two pieces of which this staff was composed were cut from a cedar board, and artificially rounded. Each piece was double in section, to convey the idea of two sticks tied together, or of independent sticks seen one behind the other. The lower piece was 100 cm. long, and the upper 60.7. The width varied from 3.5-4 cm. The jointing was effected by means of a connecting strip of wood, 8 cm. long, spliced to the

General
conclusions
as to the
meaning of
the staff

Position of the
staff in the
tomb

Construction
of the staff

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

upper and lower pieces at different angles, to form an elbow (Fig. 45). The connecting strip was further secured by pegs, fastening it to the upper and lower pieces. At the top of the upper piece there was a cap of gold leaf, 1.7 cm. wide. The staff was originally painted red.

Similar staves have been found at—

DASHUR: De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, pp. 96 and 109.

Dabchour II, pp. 46 and 55.

LISHT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

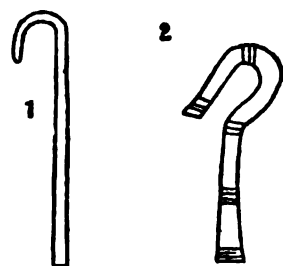
In this example the fastening round the joint is much more clearly defined than in Senebtisi's staff.

Tomb 5102 in the cemetery of the Senusert I pyramid; Acc. No. M.M.A. 14.3.34.

This staff represents four sticks bound together instead of the two of the ordinary type.

MEIR: Tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi. The staff is now in the Metropolitan Museum (Accession No. 12.182.69).

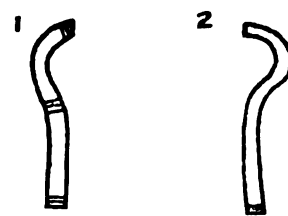
Similar staves
elsewhere



LACAU, *Sarcophages*, PL. XLV

FIG. 46

TYPES OF CROOK STAVES
FROM THE COFFINS



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, PL. III

FIG. 47

DIFFERENT FORMS OF
"CROOK" HIEROGLYPHS
FROM THE TOMB OF
METHEN

2. The Crook Staff

The crook staff is represented in the hands of a number of the gods, among others Osiris, Khonsu, Khnum, Anubis, and Sokar. It seems to have been peculiar in the first instance to Osiris, this and the whip constituting his regular emblems.

On the coffins¹ two distinct types of the staff can be distinguished (Fig. 46, 1 and 2), and in the rubrics two separate names are given, —𓏏 and 𓏏—also written 𓏏, 𓏏, 𓏏, and 𓏏. Clearly we are involved here in a confusion between two separate emblems, and it is unfortunate that both of these names are applied indifferently to either type. Of the two names 𓏏 is the word-sign for "ruler" or "prince," whereas —𓏏 must be the shepherd's staff, since the same word is also used for "flocks" and "herds." The staves are too closely connected to be independent in origin. The one was derived from the other; nor is it difficult to imagine the mental processes by which, among a pastoral people, an ordinary shepherd's staff came

Occurrence on
the coffins

Confusion
between two
originally
independent
staves

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages* I, Pl. XLV; Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, *Sebek-o*, Pl. II, and *Mentubotep*, Pls. III and V.

THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI

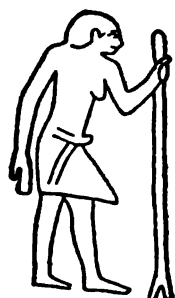
to be regarded as the symbol of power and sovereignty. On the earliest monuments (Fig. 47, 1) the emblem is represented, as a hieroglyph, in much simpler form, with a slightly rounded end instead of an elaborate crook,¹ and it is probable that in this shape it approximated fairly closely to that of the actual shepherd's staff. Fig. 47, 2, also from the tomb of Methen, shows how in the Fourth Dynasty the shape was already changing from the old simple curve to the elaborately bent crook. An example of the actual shepherd's staff is carried by the well-known figure of the *Aamu* sheikh at Beni Hasan,² and it is interesting to compare with it the conventionalized form, originally derived from this staff, which occurs as a hieroglyph in the title written above.



PETRIE, *Medum*
PL. X

FIG. 48

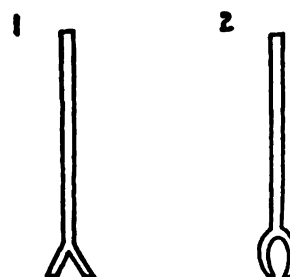
FOURTH DYNASTY
EXAMPLE OF
FORKED STAFF



DAVIES, *Plabboteh I*
PL. IV, 21

FIG. 49

FIFTH DYNASTY FORKED STAFF



LACAU, *Sarcophages*, PL. XLV

FIG. 50

STRAIGHT STAVES WITH FORKED
BOTTOMS FROM THE COFFINS

construction
the staff

The example from this tomb was 156 cm. long, with a diameter of 1.7. Over the end of the crook a capsule of thin gold leaf was fastened, 2 cm. wide. The staff was made up of four pieces, fastened together with spliced joints, as in Fig. 51. The wood of which it was composed was sawn from a cedar board and artificially rounded. It was covered with a very thin layer of stucco and painted red.

similar
examples
elsewhere

Similar staves have been found at—

DASHUR: De Morgan, *Dahchour I*, pp. 96 and 109.

Dahchour II, pp. 46, 60, 74, and 76.

LISHT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

3. *Straight Staff with Forked Bottom*




uses of the
forked staff

This is not *per se* a divine emblem, for it is represented on the monuments as a staff in every-day use. It is occasionally substituted for the ordinary straight staff (*nabut*),

¹See also Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. X. In the predynastic painted tomb at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, Pl. LXXV) a figure holds what may be intended for the crook staff, with a forked bottom, but the paintings are so crude that it is impossible to place any reliance on the exact shape of the staff.

²Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, Pl. XXVIII.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

but it must have carried with it more authority, for it is represented only with people who for one reason or another were deemed worthy of special honor. It is the staff, for example, that is usually assigned to an old man (Fig. 49); the word  "chief" usually has a figure with a forked staff as determinative; in the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum the title  is given a prominent place as one of the chief honors to which he attained (Fig. 48); while in the phrase  "his eldest son" the figure determinative has in many cases a forked staff instead of a plain one.









In the coffin lists¹ the bottom of the staff is represented with either a straight (Fig. 50, 1) or a curved fork (Fig. 50, 2), but there does not seem, at this period at any rate, to have been any difference of name to distinguish between the two varieties. The ordinary name for the staff was , but  also occurs. In coffins 28034 and 28035 in the Cairo Museum² the name  is applied to this staff, but this is probably a scribal error, due to the similarity between the formalized staff and the common offering  "bandages." That such errors were not uncommon is shown by the fact that in coffin 28089³ a staff of this character is called , a name which belongs to No. 4, and in 28123⁴ another is given the name , which belongs to the crook staff. The rubric on the coffin directs that the staff is to be placed  "in his grasp?" or  "before his face."

FIG. 52
SPLINTED
JOINT
OF
STAFF
NO. 3

Our present example was 157 cm. long, 2.4 cm. thick at the top, and 1.8 at the bottom. Round the head a thin strip of gold leaf was pasted, 2 cm. long. The staff was made up of two pieces, the upper piece (114 cm. long) being attached to the lower by means of a splice, strengthened with a peg (Fig. 51). At a break, or threatened break, in the middle of the stick (due to a knot in the wood), a strip of wood with beveled ends was introduced to act as a kind of splint (Fig. 52). The fork at the bottom was contrived by means of two separate prongs, fastened on to the staff by means of a single peg (Fig. 53). The wood of the staff was cut from a cedar board, and was therefore artificially rounded. Its surface had originally been painted red.

Similar staves have been found at—

DASHUR: De Morgan, *Dabchour* II, pp. 46, 55, 74, and 76.

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pls. XLIV and XLV; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pl. III, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 148.

²Lacau, *Sarcophages* I, pp. 94 and 100.

³Lacau, *ibid.*, II, p. 22.

⁴Lacau, *ibid.*, II, p. 141.

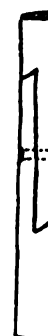


FIG. 51
SPLICED
JOINT
OF
STAFF
NO. 3

Occurrence on
the coffins

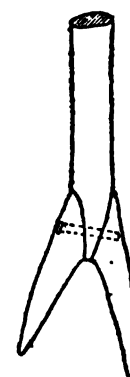


FIG. 53
FORK JOINT
OF STAFF
NO. 3

Construction
of the staff

Similar
examples
elsewhere










THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI

LISHT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licbt*, p. 78.


KURNEH: Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, p. 46.

4 and 5. *The Zari and the Uas Staves*

Occurrence on
the coffins

These two staves are so intimately connected that they must be considered together. Both are surmounted by the heads of the same canine animal, with ears laid back, and both have forked ends; the difference between them lies in the fact that one of them has a curly shaft and the other a straight one. We know from the coffins¹ that they were distinguished by separate names,  and , also written  or , but the distinction between the two was not always insisted upon, and it is quite common to find the curly staff labeled  instead of . It should be noted, however, that though the second name seems to have been applied indifferently to either staff,  is never found except in connection with the curly staff. In other words,  was probably the generic name for the animal-headed staff, while  was a particular name kept for the one variety of it.

Origin and
meaning of
staves
unknown

This seems to have been the divine sceptre *par excellence*, for it is carried by practically all the male deities, and in late times by many of the female ones also. Its use dates back to the very beginning of Egyptian history, representations of it occurring in the earliest dynastic graves—on the sealings of Den,² Perabsen,³ and Khasekhemui—⁴ and early dynastic faience votive sceptres having been found in the Abydos Temple area.⁵ The exact significance of the staff and the origin of its peculiar shape are alike unknown, nor can we identify with any certainty the animal whose head it wears. There does not appear to be any connection between this sceptre and the other animal-headed one, the , though it is very odd that this latter never finds a place among the Twelfth Dynasty burial sceptres.

References to
the staves in
the Pyramid
Texts

There are mysterious references to our staff under both of its names in the Pyramid Texts. For example—

        (Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, 348)

            (Ibid. 360)

            (Ibid. 1456)

        (Ibid. 1510).

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLV; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pls. III and V, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II.

²Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXXII.

³Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, Pl. XXII.

⁴Ibid., Pl. XXIII.

⁵Petrie, *Abydos II*, Pl. VIII.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

The connection of the *zam* staves with heaven is curious. It recalls the familiar representations of *uas* staves in temple scenes, in which two of the staves serve to enclose the scene, and incidentally act as supports for the ends of the "heaven" sign that is stretched above it. Can it be that the *uas* staff was sometimes looked upon as still another variant of the "pillar of heaven"?

Staff No. 4 was 157.5 cm. long, with a diameter of 2.2 cm. It was cut from a board of hard wood and artificially rounded. The shaft was made up of two pieces, joined as in Fig. 51. The lower of the pieces had shown signs of splitting, and had been strengthened in two or three places with pegs. The fork was cut from a single piece, and was joined to the shaft by means of a single peg, an extra strip of wood being spliced over the joint to strengthen it in the manner shown in Fig. 52. The head was joined to the shaft by means of a long diagonal splice, held together apparently by glue, without pegs. The eyes of the head were in relief and were painted like coffin eyes (Fig. 54)—outlines in black, ground white, pupils red with a black point, and eyebrows and side extension blue. Round the neck there had been an elaborate painted collar. This had almost entirely faded away, but enough remained to show that the topmost row of beads had been red, and that at the bottom there had been a row of drop pendants, also in red.

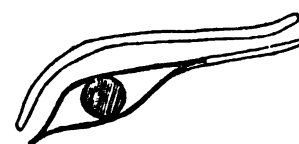



FIG. 54
PAINTED EYE FROM THE HEAD
OF STAFF NO. 4

Construction
of *zam* staff



FIG. 55
HEAD JOINTING OF
STAFF NO. 5

Staff No. 5 was 156 cm. long, with a diameter of 1.8 cm. The shaft consisted of a single piece of hard wood, artificially rounded. In the middle there was a flaw in the wood that was strengthened by means of a splint, as in Fig. 52. The fork and head were separate pieces fastened on (for the pegging of the latter see Fig. 55), and just below the shoulder there was a long diagonal glued splice. The decoration of the head was the same as on staff No. 4, but the modeling was more elaborate, the mouth and nostrils being indicated (see front and side on Pl. XXIX).

Both of these staves seem to have been painted red. This is contrary to the usual custom, for on the coffins the *uas* and *zam* staves are almost without exception colored green. The similar staves from other sites that have been published (see below) have no color recorded, but examples from the tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi at Meir, now in the Metropolitan Museum, are also green. The coffin rubrics direct that the staves be placed  "in his grasp?".

Similar staves in wood have been found at—

DASHUR: De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, pp. 96 and 109.

Dabchour II, pp. 46, 60, 74, and 76.

Construction
of *uas* staff

Similar
examples
elsewhere

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

LISIT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licbt*, p. 78.

MEIR: Tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi, not yet published, M.M.A. 12.182.64 and 65.

An enormous *uas* staff in faience was found by Petrie at Naqada (Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. LXXVIII). It is now in the South Kensington Museum. In the Empire and later periods tiny *uas* staves, usually of faience, were in very common use as amulets.

6. The Straight Staff

One is inclined at first to identify this staff with the thick stick (the modern *nabut*) which was so commonly represented on the monuments in scenes of daily life, and was frequently, in the graves of the older period, buried in the coffin with its owner. The shape is exactly the same, and in all probability it actually was in the character of a *nabut* that the staff was in the first instance introduced. By degrees, however, the staves buried in the coffins assumed more and more the nature of divine emblems, and the present staff seems to have changed its identity. In the lists of staves on the coffins there is no mention of this stick. We find instead representations of a staff, very similar in appearance (Fig. 56), but which, from the names applied to it, was very clearly a divine emblem and not an object of daily use. This staff is one of the commonest of the painted offerings, ten or even more examples occurring on a single coffin, and is, therefore, much more likely to find a place among the actual burial staves than the *nabut* which does not appear on the coffins at all.









Occurrence on
the coffins


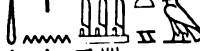
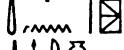

Names applied
to it on the
coffins













LACAU
Sarcophages
PL. XLVI, 349

FIG. 56
CONVENTIONAL
STRAIGHT
STAFF FROM
THE COFFINS

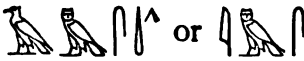
According to the rubrics on the coffins¹ the staff was known by a great variety of names. It occurs most commonly in sets of four, and then the names given are , , , and . For  the variants  and  occur, and each of the groups is occasionally determined by the sign .² We get, then, as a starting-point the mysterious appellation "the staves of the pools of the four points of the compass." Other names that occur are—

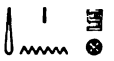

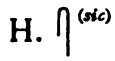
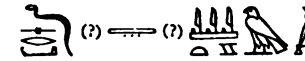
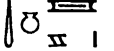
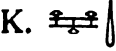
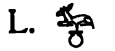
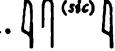

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| A.  | The Staff of Horus. |
| B.  | The Staff of the Field of Horus. |
| C.  | The Staff of the Divine Palace. |
| D.  | The Staff of Heliopolis. |








¹ Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLVI; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pl. III, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 148.

² In a tomb at Deshasheh (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. XXI) there is a curious scene, in which the end of a staff is apparently being pressed in a vise. The inscription above the scene reads          


THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

E.  (This appears to be the generic name for a sacred staff.)
And, still more incomprehensible,

F. 	G. 	H. 	I. 
J. 	K. 	L. 	M. 
N. 			

Now in the later period the gods of the cardinal points were the four Children of Horus, who were considered to be the supporters of the four corners of heaven. In the earlier times the four supports were styled the "Pillars of Shu," and were represented thus: . In the  sign—the "hall" or "shrine"—the center pillar or support is sometimes represented as  and sometimes, as in Fig. 44, as a column almost exactly in the form our staff takes in the painted representations in the coffins (see Fig. 56). In the case of Sed Festival shrines also, the outside pillars are exactly of this shape. It would seem possible, then, that the staves pictured on the coffins are intended to represent, or rather to symbolize, pillars or supports. Let us see if the substitution of the word "pillar" for "staff" will render our list of names more intelligible. The set of four which we mentioned first become "the pillars of the north, south, east, and west pools(?)," and may be accepted quite reasonably as representing the actual pillars of Shu. For the other names we get—(A) "the pillar of Horus," (B) "the pillar of the Field of Horus," (C) "the pillar of the Divine Palace," (D) "the pillar of Heliopolis"—and so on. In (J) we get "the pillar of the Pools(?)." In (H), (I), and (N) we have, either in addition to or as a substitute for , the sign , which, as we showed above (p. 82), represents bundles of reeds, tied together to form the framework of a reed shelter(?), and which might therefore serve very appropriately as the word-sign for any kind of support. (I) then could mean "the pillar of the Sacred Land, the Field of Horus." The same word , more commonly written in this case , is used as a name of Staff No. 1, and, as we have already stated (p. 82), there are other points that connect our present staff with the former one, which we took to be a pillar or corner support, originally of a reed structure or shrine and later, as a derived meaning, of the vault of heaven.

The meaning
of the names

We conclude, then, that our staff, in the first instance a mere *nabut*, was identified with the pillar of wood or reed that was used to support the roofs of primitive shrines, and that it represented the similar pillars, on which, according to popular belief, the vault of heaven actually rested. It was a symbol of the divine power that raised up and supported the heavens above the earth, and as such was given to the new Osiris as a part of his equipment for the future life when he assumed the attributes and qualities of divinity. According to the rubrics accompanying the representations of this staff in the coffins, the staff was to be placed  "in his grasp?".

The staff a
symbol of the
pillars of
heaven

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Construction
of the staff

The staff was 140 cm. long by 1.6 thick. It consisted of five pieces of about equal length, joined in the manner of Fig. 51, with a couple of pegs to secure each joint. Unlike most of the other staves, it was made up of natural sticks, and not of lengths sawn from a board. The knob at the top was of plaster, moulded on to the wood. Its original length was 4.8 cm., and its diameter 3.1 cm. at the top by 2.5 at the bottom. At the end there was a strip of gold leaf 2 cm. wide.

This plaster knob gives us a means of estimating the amount of shrinkage that the wood of the staves has undergone. The lower edge of the plaster was originally brought down to a point flush with the surface of the stick. At this point there is now a gap of about 4 mm. on each side between plaster and wood, showing 8 mm. of shrinkage in the diameter of the stick.

Similar
examples
elsewhere

Similar staves have been found at—

LISHT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.







MEIR: Tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi, two examples, one lapped with cord for a considerable part of its length. These are now in the Metropolitan Museum (Accession Nos. 12.182.62 and 63).



7 and 8. *The Bows*

The employment of bows as a part of the regular burial equipment was inherited from the Old Kingdom; but whereas in early times the bow was deposited in a man's grave as one of the regular necessities of life for which he would find equal need in a future world, it is probable that in the Middle Kingdom, associated as it was with amuletic sceptres and symbols of divinity, it had a deeper ritualistic significance.

Occurrence on
the coffins

Bows occur regularly among the offerings on the painted coffins¹, either in sets of four or in pairs, but never singly. They are known by two names, usually written in the dual form,—

, also written , , and .
, also written .

Where four occur on a single coffin two are usually called by the one name and two by the other, but occasionally the two names together  are given to a single pair. They are directed to be placed  "in his grasp?"

We have already stated—in the introductory remarks on staves—that bows placed in coffins were frequently put out of action at the time of the burial. An actual illustration of this "killing" of the bows occurs in the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef at Thebes (see

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLI; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentuherkhepeshef*, Pls. III and V, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 148.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

Fig. 37 on p. 80), where a man is represented deliberately sawing a bow in half, preparatory to placing it on the funeral chest. In addition to the examples already given we may quote—

Intentional
breaking at the
time of burial

GARSTANG, *Burial Customs*, p. 159, where two instances of broken bows are noted.

QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara 1906-7*, p. 14, where out of four bows found two had been deliberately broken, and p. 17, where a bow was found sawn into two pieces.

At Thebes, also, judging from examples acquired by the Metropolitan Museum from Lord Carnarvon's excavations, some of the bows seem to have been bisected by one or two blows of an axe. Of the two examples from this tomb one, as the illustration shows, was

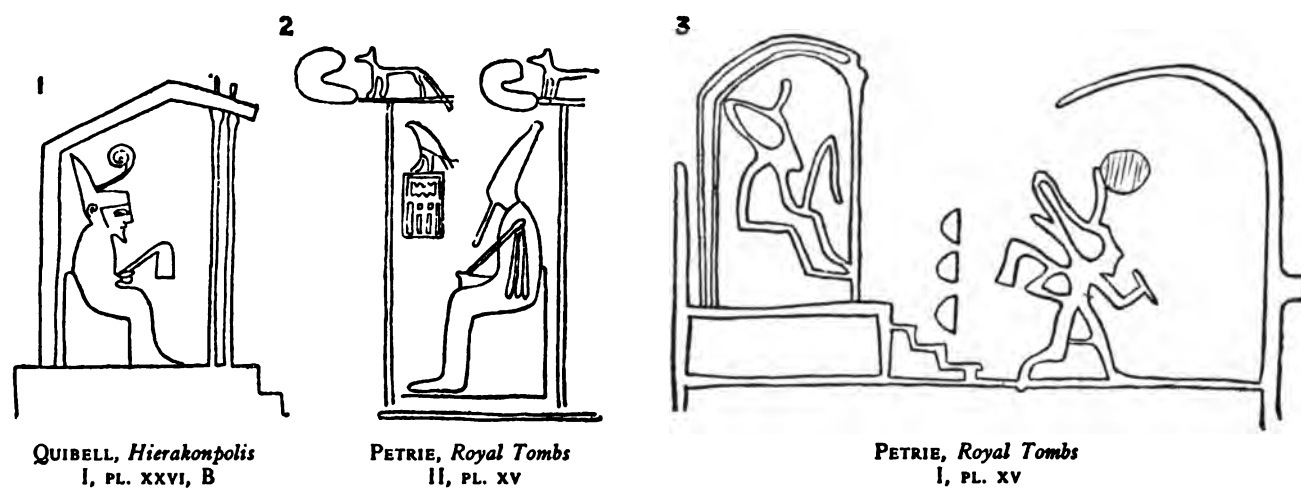




FIG. 57

FIRST DYNASTY REPRESENTATIONS OF WHIPS

sawn in half, whereas the other was left unbroken. This may be the result of mere accident or caprice, but, taken in conjunction with the Saqqara example, where out of a set of four only two were broken, it would almost seem more likely that a distinction was intended between two different orders of bows. If that were the case, it would be interesting to know whether it was the  bow that had to be broken or the .

Our present bows have unfortunately lost their original shape, as they had snapped into a number of short sections, each of which twisted and straightened itself out on the application of the hot wax. They were of the ordinary type with slightly curved ends. Both bows were cut from natural branches, instead of being, like most of the other staves, sawn from a board. They were unpainted. No. 7 was 122 cm. long, and 1.8 thick in the middle, tapering to the ends, with a gold capsule 2 cm. long on either end. No. 8 was 121.5 cm. long, 1.6 cm. thick in the middle, tapering, and with gold capsules 2.5 cm. long at the ends.

Construction
of the bows

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Bows occur regularly in tombs toward the close of the Old Kingdom, and throughout the Heracleopolitan period. Of actual Twelfth Dynasty examples we may quote—

DE MORGAN, *Dabcbour* I, pp. 96 and 109.



Dabcbour II, pp. 46 and 55.

GAUTIER ET JÉQUIER, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

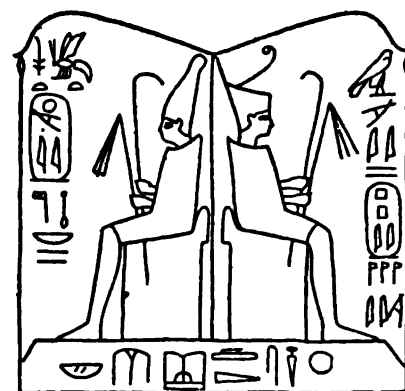
9. *The Whip*

The ceremonial whip figures very largely in Egyptian archæology, but so far but little attempt has been made to explain its meaning. In the hands of gods it is called vaguely an emblem of power, and when represented with private individuals it is usually explained as a fly-flap. It must surely admit of an explanation, more definite, on the one hand, and less mundane, on the other, than those we have quoted.

It has been suggested that the form of the whip was developed from that of the donkey whip, but an examination of the monuments of the various periods shows that this view is quite untenable. In all the representations previous to the Twelfth Dynasty, straight sticks and not whips are used both for donkeys and oxen, whereas for goats a single strand of rope is employed. In the Twelfth Dynasty and later, forked sticks—*i. e.*, natural branches—are used as well as straight sticks. In no case is there any representation of an artificially formed whip.

Ceremonial whips, on the other hand, are in the Old Kingdom represented in various forms. Illustrations of these are given in Figs. 57–59; those of 57 being First Dynasty examples, from Abydos and Hierakonpolis, while 58 and 59 are of later date, taken from rock inscriptions at Hammamat and Wadi Maghara. It is clear that even so early as the First Dynasty the whip had become conventionalized, and from that point onward the shape is in most cases meaningless. Not always, however. Certain examples which are more carefully cut show a close resemblance to the hieroglyph , the sign of birth, which we now know to have represented three fox skins tied together. Like the whip the  sign became early conventionalized, its shape in ordinary writing showing so little trace of its origin that until recent years the hieroglyph was placed by modern Egyptologists among the flower derivatives. Its original form, however, was not forgotten. Fig. 60 shows an Old Kingdom example from a Saqqara mastaba in which the skins are quite recognizable, while in Fig. 61, a school piece of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, they are worked out with the utmost elaboration.¹ In Fig. 62, from a tablet of king Aha, one of the earliest examples of the sign is given, and it is interesting to note that in this case the skins were

¹ For a discussion on this point, and for further examples, see Daressy, *Annales*, 1903, p. 122; Maspero, *Recueil*, XXX, p. 175; Borchardt, *J. Z.*, Dec., 1907, p. 75.



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 115

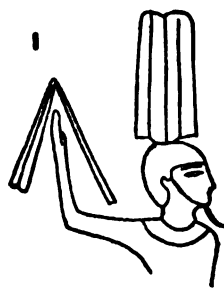
FIG. 58

SIXTH DYNASTY REPRESENTATION OF WHIPS

Other
XIIIth
dyn.
examples

No connection
with animal
goats

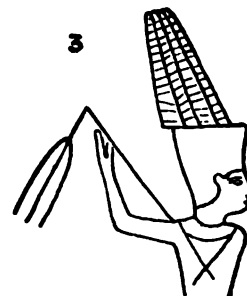
Shape relates
it to
word-sign for
"birth"



LEPSIUS. *Denkmäler* II, 115



Ibid., II, 149



Ibid., II, 151

FIG. 59

REPRESENTATIONS OF WHIPS IN ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT HAMMAMAT AND WADI MAGHARA



CAPART, *Rue de Tombeaux*, PL. XLVII

FIG. 60

FIFTH DYNASTY
EXAMPLE OF
mś SIGN



DARESSY, *Annales*, 1903, p. 122

FIG. 61

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY
EXAMPLE OF *mś* SIGN



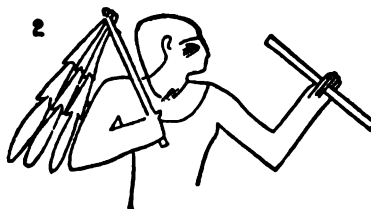
PETRIE, *Royal Tombs* II, PL. XI

FIG. 62

FIRST DYNASTY
EXAMPLE OF
mś SIGN



CAPART, *Rue de Tombeaux*
PL. CIV



ROCK TOMBS AT MEIR

FIG. 63

WHIPS, SHOWING CONNECTION WITH *mś* SIGN





DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrawi* II
PL. VIII

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

not fastened together. The reason for choosing foxes as birth-animals is not obvious, for there is no reason to suppose that they were regarded, like the goats which were adopted at a later period for the same purpose, as being especially prolific.¹ An instance of a present-day survival in Nubia of the association of foxes with birth has been published by Blackman,² fox skins being hung up over the door of a house with a view, it was explained, to assist women in labor.

Originally
consisted of
three fox skins
tied to a stick

This digression on the  sign is not out of place, for it has a distinct bearing on the meaning of the whip, the two signs being intimately connected. That they were connected there can surely be no doubt, for there are instances of the latter in which the skins are plainly visible (see for example Fig. 63).³ The one object was clearly derived from the other, though whether it was the whip or the  that was first used, and which of the two was therefore the derivative, it is impossible to say. In any case the whip in its original form consisted of three fox skins tied to a stick; in other words, it was the sign of birth turned into a whip by the addition of a handle.

The whip the
symbol of the
gods of
reproduction

Now the whip is not a general symbol of godhead or power, represented as such indifferently in the hands of any of the gods. Its use is confined, on the contrary, to very few gods, and with these it is identified so closely that they never appear without it. In the first place, it is the peculiar emblem of Min, the god of the reproductive power of nature, and one of the earliest in the Egyptian pantheon. Next, it appears with Amon, but in one of his manifestations only, that one in which he is confounded with, and takes over the peculiar functions of, Min. As a god of reproduction he carries the whip, but in his other aspects he does not. Lastly, it occurs with Osiris, who was also occasionally confounded with Min, and with two or three other gods later identified with him. It is, then, the distinctive symbol of the gods of reproduction. It belongs to Min, Amon, and Osiris, the prompters of the reproductive instinct in the earthly life, and possibly to Osiris in his other capacity also, as the re-creator, the patron and quickening spirit of the second life beyond the grave. There is a curious difference in the manner in which the whip is represented in the hands of these three gods. Min and Amon hold it aloft as an emblem, not touching the handle, whereas Osiris grasps it in the usual way. It is difficult to see the meaning of the former position. It may not have been the original one, for in the earliest Min statues that exist, those found by Petrie at Koptos,⁴ the right arm of the statue hangs at the side, and the hole left within the clenched hand suggests that in this case the whip was held by the handle.

¹S. Reinach in a recent paper (*Samson, Conférences au Musée Guimet*, 1912, p. 115) gives classical examples of the burning of foxes as an agrarian rite. He also states that in France the custom of burning foxes still exists, and that both in France and in Germany "*le renard est comme le génie de la moisson*," whose death fertilizes the soil.

²*Man*, Jan., 1909, p. 9.

³The second of these cuts, for which we are indebted to Mr. Blackman, is taken from a tomb at Meir, shortly to be published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

⁴Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 7, and Capart, *Prehistoric Art in Egypt*, p. 223.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

The whip, therefore, composed of the recognized sign of birth, and only carried by the gods who were directly responsible for birth, must surely have had a ritualistic value as an aid to reproduction. In this connection one is reminded at once of the Festival of the Lupercalia in Italy, in which women allowed themselves to be beaten with goat or possibly originally wolf thongs for the same purpose, and it is not without significance that Faunus or Pan, the god in whose honor the Lupercalia Festival was performed, was always identified by the Romans in Egypt with the Egyptian god Min. The use of flagellation as an aid to the productive power of nature—both of human beings and of crops alike—was very common in antiquity, and a number of classical parallels, such for example as the Bona Dea Mysteries and certain of the Demeter Festivals, could be quoted.¹ In the Middle Ages there were still, in various parts of Europe, debased survivals of certain of these ancient rites,² and in Morocco at the present day ceremonies are held at a certain season of the year, that are strongly reminiscent of the Lupercalia.³ It may be objected that in Egypt we have no trace or record of such practices. True, we have not—or at any rate we have not yet recognized them as such—but it must be remembered that since the whip seems early to have lost its distinctive form, the custom itself might have fallen into desuetude. Min, as we have already remarked, was one of the very earliest of the Egyptian gods, and it is conceivable that the exact meaning of his whip might have been lost sight of in prehistoric Egypt, while still preserved among others of that group of Mediterranean peoples with whom Egypt claimed common origin.

In the hands of the gods, then, the whip was the distinctive symbol of reproductive power. How are we to account for its occurrence in the possession of ordinary mortals? With kings no difficulty is involved, for the king in virtue of his position ranked as a god, and therefore was entitled to carry the divine symbols. It should be noted, however, that in early times the whip was not in every-day use as a part of the ordinary regalia, but was reserved for certain definite occasions, such as the Coronation Festivities and the Sed Festival, one of the ceremonies prescribed for these festivals being a solemn visit to the shrine of Min. In ceremonial dancing scenes the whip is sometimes carried, and in these cases the king usually holds in his other hand a small cane instead of the paddle. The objects held by the king in Fig. 57, 3 are certainly the whip and cane, and not, as has usually been supposed, the *bat* and paddle.⁴ In the case of private individuals the connection is less obvious. There are, in Old Kingdom tomb reliefs, two distinct groups of scenes in which the whip plays a part. The first group pictures the owner of the tomb being carried in a palanquin (Fig. 64: see also Fig. 63), in a manner

Its use

Classical and
mediæval
parallels

The whip in
the hands of
kings and
private
individuals

Only carried
on certain fixed
occasions

¹Mannhardt, in *Mythologische Forschungen* (pp. 113 ff.), has made an exhaustive study of the whole question.

²The jester's bladder was thus, according to our hypothesis, the direct descendant of the Egyptian whip.

³Westermarck, *Folklore*, 1911, pp. 131 ff.

⁴For other instances of the whip and cane in dancing scenes see Möller, *Ä. Z.*, 1901, p. 71, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 116.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

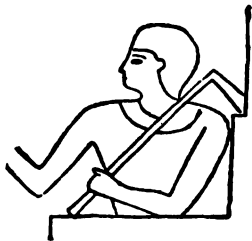
suggestive at once of the king's procession in the Sed Festival,¹ and it should be noted that in his other hand he sometimes carries a small cane, similar to that used by the king in the dancing scenes. The scene in all probability represents what we may call a commoner's Sed Festival, commemorating his birthday, or possibly his attainment to manhood. In this scene the whip is carried over the shoulder, and in some cases a second whip is carried by a retainer in the procession (Fig. 65). The second group of scenes depicts the proprietor of the tomb seated before a table of offerings, not holding the whip behind him as in the former case, but either stretched out (as in Fig. 66) or (as in Fig. 67) inclining towards the offerings. Fig. 68 gives similar examples from Twelfth Dynasty tombs. Three explanations are possible for the presence of the whip in this latter group of scenes. The first, that the bearer may have been thought of as already deceased, and therefore identified with Osiris, is not a very likely one, for the manner in which the whip is held is not that of Osiris. Secondly, it is possible that the whip was amuletic in design, and that by its agency the sculptured offerings were to be quickened. In the third place, it is conceivable that the whip had already lost its original meaning, and that its shape, as we shall show in the next paragraph, had been taken over for other uses.

Origin and
meaning of the
whip forgotten

It must always be remembered that in the earliest times of which we have any record the shape of the whip in sculptured representations had been conventionalized to the point of losing, except in rare cases, all trace of its origin. It is probable that as time went on, not only was the origin of the whip lost sight of, but its purpose even was to a large extent forgotten. It may be that the whip, inserted as it still was in the particular scenes demanded by tradition, suggested to the later Egyptian other and more commonplace uses than its original ritualistic one. In any case, whether due to ignorance of its meaning, or to a deliberate perversion of the sacred emblem to vulgar uses, it is quite certain that from the Twelfth Dynasty onward the three-tailed form of whip was in many cases applied to fly-whisks. Clear examples of this are shown in Figs. 69-71, the tails in two cases manifestly consisting of feathers. Fig. 69, 1 and 2 are from grave stelæ in the Cairo Museum; 71 is carried in the hand of a female attendant; while 70 is wielded by an official in attendance on Thothmes III. That the fly-whisk and the whip are definitely connected, and that the one was evolved from the other, a study of the figures in this section leaves no doubt; and it is also sufficiently obvious that in its original design it was a whip that was intended and not a fly-whisk. One can hardly conceive of the adoption of a fly-whisk as the emblem of a particular group of gods, and the three fox skins of which the emblem was originally composed would be singularly ill adapted to that particular purpose. Even in later times the fly-whisk use of the emblem was but a subsidiary one, the only examples that have been actually found being

Use as a
fly-whisk

¹See, for instance, Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, Pl. VI.



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 78

FIG. 64

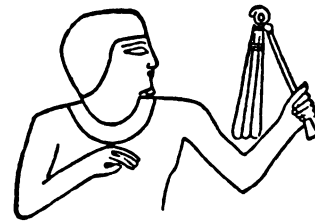
WHIP CARRIED OVER THE
SHOULDER IN A
PALANQUIN SCENE



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 50

FIG. 65

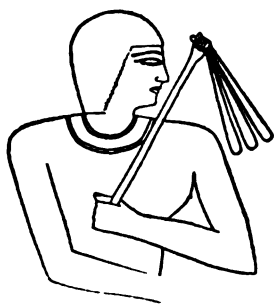
WHIP CARRIED IN
PROCESSION BEFORE
A PALANQUIN



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 61

FIG. 66

WHIP EXTENDED
OVER A TABLE
OF OFFERINGS



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 36

FIG. 67

WHIP HELD BEFORE TABLE OF OFFERINGS



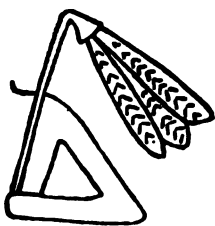
1. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 129



2. NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*
I, PL. XXXV

FIG. 68

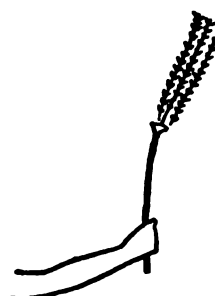
TWELFTH DYNASTY EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF THE WHIP



LANGE AND SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des
Mittleren Reichs*, Part 4, PL. XC

FIG. 69

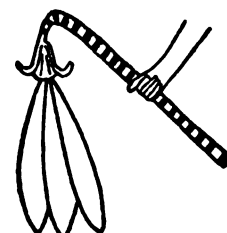
FLY-WHISKS FROM GRAVE-STELÆ
OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*
III, 29

FIG. 70

FLY-WHISK CARRIED
BY AN OFFICIAL



NEWBERRY, *El Bersheb*
I, PL. XXX

FIG. 71

FLY-WHISK (?) CARRIED
BY A FEMALE ATTENDANT

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

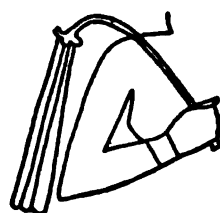
composed either of wood throughout or of bead cones with wooden tails, which, though they bear but small resemblance to the original fox skins, are yet even less adapted to this use than the latter.

Later types of
whips

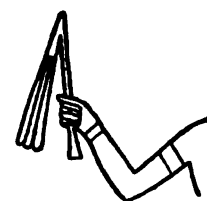
Various types from the Empire period are shown in Fig. 72. It will be noticed that in this period, as in the earlier, the man's whip or fly-whisk has either a hand or an angled wood top, whereas the woman's has always a flower.



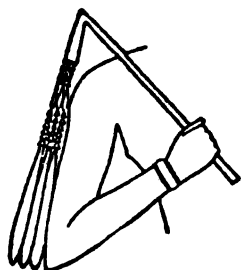
1. CURELLY, AYRTON, AND WEIGALL, *Abydos* III, PL. LII



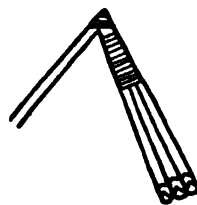
2. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* III, 147



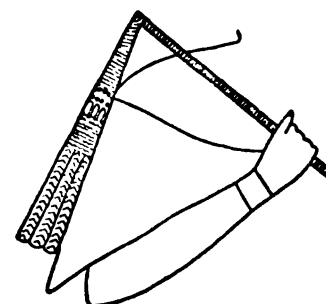
3. *Ibid.*, III, 35



4. *Ibid.*, III, 77



5. *Ibid.*, III, 78



6. *Ibid.*, III, 118

FIG. 72


TYPES OF WHIP IN THE EMPIRE PERIOD

Occurrence on
the coffins

In the painted inventory of grave furniture on Heracleopolitan and early Twelfth Dynasty coffins the whip almost always finds a place,¹ and it is to this source that we are indebted for the preservation of the names. In a few instances it was called Δ (bw), but its common name was nb^3b^3 , written indifferently $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, or $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$. Many of the rubrics continue 𓏏 "in his right hand" or 𓏏 "in his grasp?". In one case, in addition to the whip, there is a single fox skin (Fig. 73), and this is significantly named 𓏏 . Another instance of

¹Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pls. XLVI and XLVII; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pl. III, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 148.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

a single fox skin occurs at Tell el Amarna,¹ where it has been adopted as the standard of a regiment (Fig. 74). In the Pyramid Texts² we find a reference to the whip —but it is difficult to see what this can mean.



DAVIES, *El Amarna* III
PL. XXXI

FIG. 74
SINGLE FOX-
SKIN AS THE
STANDARD
OF A
REGIMENT

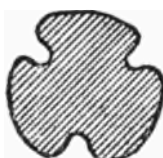


FIG. 76
SECTION OF
WHIP-HANDLE

Our present whip (Fig. 75) is shown in photograph on Plate XXX, and in color on Plate XXXI. The handle is composed of an artificially rounded piece of some soft wood (sycamore-fig?), 45.4 cm. long: it was originally painted either yellow or white.³ The diameter of the butt is 19 mm. and that of the rest of the handle 13. The handle proper or grip is 7 cm. long, and has 18 horizontal grooves. From the end of the grip to within 7 cm. of the top it is fluted (see section in Fig. 76). The top is beveled and an angle piece 8.2 cm. in length is added, and apparently fastened with glue. In the end of the angle piece there is a hole for the threads,

in which they were probably kept secure by means of a peg. The carnelian and faience cones and cylinders were strung on from three to four white flax threads each, not plaited together, but each thread separate. Each cone and cylinder has a narrow strip of gold leaf glued to its lower edge. The tails are of the same soft wood as the handle, and were originally covered with stucco and painted yellow. The tails were fastened to the lowest cones by means of

copper pins. These were probably driven into the tails first: then the thread ends were fastened to the cones, and the cones themselves pushed down on to the pins.

Examples of complete whips are rare. The following are of the Twelfth Dynasty:⁴

DASHUR: De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, pp. 98 and 111, Pl. XXXIX; *Dabchour* II, p. 54.

LISHT: Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78.

MEIR: From the tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi (M.M.A. 12.183.15).

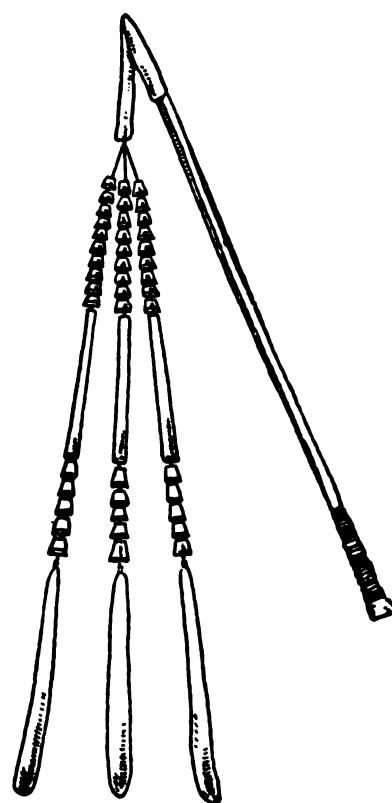
A whip, otherwise like that of Senebtisi, in which the cones are replaced with carnelian and blue faience ball beads.



Construction
of the whip

LACAU
Sarcophages
PL. XLVIII

FIG. 73
SINGLE FOX-
SKIN REPRESENTED ON
THE COFFINS



Similar
examples
elsewhere

FIG. 75

THE PRESENT WHIP. SCALE ABOUT 1:5

¹ Davies, *El Amarna* III, Pl. XXXI.

² Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 2204.

³ The handles of the painted whips on the coffins were frequently white, but other colors or combinations of colors occur, such as green; black and white; green and red; and blue, red, and yellow.

⁴ Since this list was written we have seen the description of a whip with cloth flaps, found by Ahmed Bey Kamal, at Meir (*Annales*, XII, p. 113). This may have been intended as a fly-whisk.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI







They are all of the curious bead and cylinder type, in which the cones represented the ears and legs of the fox, the cylinder the body, and the wooden flail end the tail. The restoration in *Dabcbour* I, Plate XXXIX is certainly wrong. The handle is evidently the end of a bow, and the hawk's head must be either the shoulder-piece from a collar or the top part of a counterbalance (*mnht*) of the type figured in Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Plate LII, 440. That the whip formed a regular part of the Twelfth Dynasty burial outfit we know from our excavations at Lisht, for scattered cones and cylinders were found in many plundered graves. Of later date there are two whips, one bearing the cartouche of Thothmes III, in the Leyden Museum¹ (provenance unknown). These are of wood throughout. In the so-called tomb of Queen Tiy the remains of a whip were found, in which the cones—of glass and gilded wood—had been strung on bronze rods, and in the foundation deposit of Hatshepsut there was a model of wood, gilt.²

10. The Maces

Their shape
and range

The mace was one of the earliest types of weapon of which we find any trace in Egypt. It was also one of the most popular, and examples of two of its common forms—pear-shaped and flat-topped—occur in a large proportion of predynastic graves. Of the two shapes the former seems to have been adopted as the recognized type for ceremonial use. The large inscribed temple maces from Hierakonpolis were pear-shaped, and in the conventional representations on temple scenes of the king giving the *coup de grace* to a batch of prisoners, scenes which still persisted into times when the weapon itself must have long fallen into disuse, the mace was always of the same shape. It is impossible to determine at what precise period the use of the mace in actual warfare was abandoned. As late as the Twelfth Dynasty at any rate—instance the present tomb—maces of both types were deposited in graves, but we must remember that the Egyptian was governed in regard to his burial deposits by a rigid conservatism, which preserved the shapes of objects which in daily life had gone out of fashion, and in some instances objects themselves which had become obsolete.

Occurrence on
the coffins

Both types are figured on the painted coffins,³ the pear-shaped mace being called , also written  and , and the flat-topped , also written  and . Both are usually colored white, to represent the aragonite or limestone of which they were made, and the former name was early taken over into use as a word-sign for the color. Another type of mace in which a metal axe-head is ingeniously combined on the same handle with a stone mace-head is also represented on the coffins.⁴ It is called



¹Leemans, *Mon.* II, Pl. LXXX.

²Davis, *Tomb of Tiyi*, Pl. VI, and *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, Pls. XIV-XV.

³Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLIII; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Mentubotep*, Pl. III, and *Sebek-o*, Pl. II.

⁴Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLIII, 280.

THE CEREMONIAL STAVES

The present maces are shown in Fig. 77. The head of the first is of aragonite, 5.6 cm. high, with a greatest diameter of 5.7 cm. The shaft hole was bored from both ends, the bore diameter at the bottom being 1.6 cm., and at the top 1.3. The shaft, of soft wood, is about 40 cm. long, with a present diameter—much shrunk—of 1.5 cm., tapering at the top to 8 mm. At the bottom there is a capsule of gold leaf 2 cm. wide. Above this there are 15 stripes of red paint, 1 mm. wide, at intervals of about 5 mm. Below the head there are 5 more similar stripes. The shaft proper penetrates the head to a distance of 3 cm. only. Above this there is a lump of plaster, and at the top a dummy plug of wood, 1 cm. long, covered with gold leaf. The junction of head and shaft was originally concealed by a coating of plaster, built up to carry down the lines of the head on to the shaft. The shaft was probably painted yellow.

The flat-topped mace in Fig. 77, 2 was found, not in the coffin with the other staves described in this section, but in the long box deposited by the side of the coffin. The head is of crystal, 5 cm. high, with a diameter at the top of 6.4 cm., and at the bottom of 2 cm. As in the head of the other mace, the shaft hole was bored from both ends. Only the lower portion of the shaft was left, 1.3 in diameter at the bottom, and tapering slightly upward. Round the base there are traces of 7 thin red stripes, similar to those on the other shaft.

Similar maces were found in several of the Dashur graves—

DE MORGAN, *Dabchour* I, pp. 71, 74, and 109.

Dabchour II, pp. 54 and 60.

In the Metropolitan Museum (Accession No. 12.182.68) there is a complete pear-shaped mace which is cut, head and all, from a single piece of wood, from the tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi at Meir.

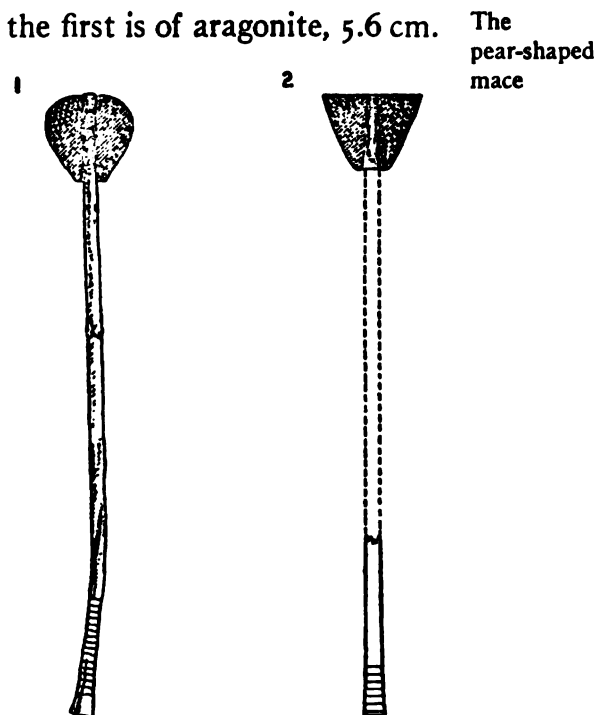


FIG. 77

STONE MACES WITH WOODEN HANDLES
SCALE 1 : 5

THE HEADS SHOWN IN SECTION

The
pear-shaped
mace

The flat-topped
mace

Other
XIIIth dyn.
examples

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, INCLUDING THE POTTERY

1. *Objects Found within the Coffin*

Dagger

THE DAGGER (1). This was found on the left side of the body, between the resin and the outer wrappings. It had probably slipped down from an original position close to the hands.




Occurrence in
other graves










Daggers in wooden sheaths must have been in common use in early times, as we know from the occurrence of the hieroglyph *tp*, which takes its shape from the sheathed dagger. This being so, it is curious that in Old Kingdom graves daggers should occur so rarely, much more rarely than either spears or axes. The earliest known example was found at Naqada in a predynastic grave.¹ At Abydos a model dagger was found in the tomb of Khasekhemui,² and at El Amrah there were two examples,³ one of which had an ivory handle. In the Twelfth Dynasty and after, they occur commonly enough. Several were found at Dashur,⁴ and in the Metropolitan Museum (Accession No. 12.-183.17) there is a similar example, with sheath, from the tomb of Hapi Ankhtifi at Meir. Some fine examples of slightly later date were found at Hu⁵ and Abydos.⁶

Occurrence on
the coffins

On the coffins the dagger is figured regularly among the painted offerings.⁷ It is distinguished in the rubrics by the following names—

A. , in one instance.

B.   , also written    and  

C.   , also written    and   

The handles are represented in various forms, but the names seem to be applied indif-

¹Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. LXV.

²Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, Pl. IX A, 4.

³Randall-Maclver, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pls. VI and X.




⁴See, for example, De Morgan, *Dabchour I*, p. 113, and *Dabchour II*, p. 48; and for a sheath similar to ours *Dabchour II*, Pl. VI.

⁵Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXXII.

⁶Garstang, *El Arabah*, Pl. XVI.

⁷Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pl. XLIII; Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, Pl. II, and *Mentubotep*, Pl. III.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, INCLUDING THE POTTERY

ferently, and do not belong to any particular form. There is still a fourth name,  or , that occurs in connection with daggers, but this may be taken to apply to the sheath of the dagger, rather than to the dagger itself. Wherever pairs of daggers are shown with the words *bꜣgꜣu* and *mtꜣnt* over them, the former name is generally applied to an unsheathed dagger and the latter to one sheathed. In one case, moreover, the dagger is represented with its sheath beside it, and the latter is definitely labeled .¹

The present dagger (Pl. XXXII, C) with its wooden sheath is 18.9 cm. long. It has a pointed handle covered with gold leaf. At the top of the sheath there is a band of gold leaf, and at the bottom a gold capsule. The space between the handle and the sheath shows the amount of shrinkage that has taken place in the wood.

Construction
of the dagger

(2) *Round Object* (see Pl. XXVIII, H and I). This was found within the wrappings, laid just by the head of the mummy. It consisted of a flat, resinous disk, 59 mm. thick, and 7.65–8.20 cm. in diameter, with slightly raised edges. It was dark brown in color, and in composition very much resembled a heavy cake, the lower part being thick and solid, and the upper light and full of small air vesicles. Its surface was covered with a thin film of shiny light brown material. The under side and edges show the marks of a mould, the depth of which is probably indicated by the height of the raised rim.

Round object

Similarly shaped disks, though apparently of different material, were found in two of the Dashur tombs. In the tomb of Ita (*Dabchour* II, p. 48) De Morgan records: "*Sous la tête de la momie j'ai rencontré un petit disque en terre noire, destiné à lui tenir lieu de chevet;*" and again, in the tomb of Khnoumit (*op. cit.*, p. 55): "*La tête reposait sur un rondelle de terre battue.*" The present example, though found in the neighborhood of the head, was not underneath it, and it is difficult to believe that it could have been intended for use as a head-rest.

Similar objects
at Dashur

2. The Boxes

(1) *The Wig-box*. The original position of this box is uncertain. The remains of it were found in the pit, where it had been thrown out by the plunderers and crushed under the weight of the pit-filling (Pl. IX, A). In size it must have been about 60 cm. long by 35 cm. wide: it was covered inside and out with white plaster. Inside the box there were traces of a plaited wig.

Wig-box

Another example of a wig-box was found at Lisht by Gautier and Jéquier.²

(2) *The Stave-box*. This originally took up most of the vacant space between the coffin and the east wall of the burial chamber. Length and height measurements were unobtainable, owing to the decay of the box, but a cleat from below the box at its north

Stave-box

¹Steindorff, *Grabfunde, Sebek-o*, p. 9, No. 36.

²Gautier et Jéquier, *Fouilles de Lisht*, p. 50.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

end was still sufficiently preserved to give its width—16 cm. The cleat itself was 3 cm. wide by 2 cm. deep. The inside of the box, and probably the outside also, were covered with a heavy coat of white plaster. Of the contents of the box only fragments remained. These consisted of—

Contents of
stave-box

- A. Pieces of a crook staff, 1.4 cm.—2 cm. in diameter. The staff was not artificially rounded, but consisted of a natural branch. It was painted red.
- B. Crystal mace-head, with wooden handle. This has been already described above (p. 103). The mace was placed upside down in the box, with the handle to the north.

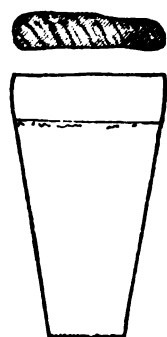


FIG. 78
WOODEN OBJECT
FROM LONG BOX
SCALE 2 : 5



FIG. 79
SHRINE-SHAPED BOX. SCALE 1 : 3



FIG. 80
WOODEN
FRAGMENT
FROM LONG
BOX
SCALE 2 : 5

- C. Wooden object, broken away at lower end (Fig. 78). This was cut from a board, and rounded at the sides. It was 1.4 cm. thick at the top, tapering to 1.1 cm. at the bottom. Over the top there was a capsule of gold leaf 1.6 cm. deep, laid on thin plaster. It was found at the north end of the box.
- D. Thin wooden object (Fig. 80), found near the middle of the box. It was only 5 mm. in thickness, and was painted green.¹
- E. Round boss of plaster, covered with gold leaf. This was found close to D.

Similar boxes
at Dashur

Similar stave-boxes were found at Dashur in the tombs of Hor (De Morgan, *Dahchour* I, p. 95) and Nubhotep (*Ibid.*, p. 109).

Shrines

(3) *The Shrine-shaped Boxes* (Pl. IX, B and E, and Fig. 79). These were found just north of the stave-box. They were lying upon their faces, having either been turned over by the plunderers, or collapsed with their own weight as the wood decayed. The

¹Among the objects in the Metropolitan Museum found in the coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi is a wooden model mirror, the disk painted green to represent bronze. The wooden fragment described above may be all that is left of a similar model.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, INCLUDING THE POTTERY

two boxes were exactly similar in construction, and almost identical in size. The inside measurements were 6.7 cm. wide by 8.3 cm. deep by 18.4 cm. high, and the thickness of the wood was 8 mm. Each box was fastened together by means of tiny round wooden pegs. One peg-hole, however, had a small copper nail in it, and another was plugged with plaster. The doors had, at top and bottom, projecting pivots as hinges, which fitted into corresponding sockets in the top and bottom boards. They were fastened when shut by means of a bolt through a hole in the side. Both the inside and the outside of the boxes had a coating of yellow plaster.

Both boxes contained bundles of decayed cloth. What the bundles had contained it was impossible to say, except that the inside layers of cloth were stained, and there was a scattering through them of wood chips.¹

3. *The Canopic Jars*

The Canopic jars² are shown photographically in Plate XXXIII, in outline in Fig. 81, and in Plate XXXI, B there is a color reproduction of one of the heads. The jars themselves are of aragonite, and the heads of wood, covered with stucco and painted.

Description of
the jars

As a set provided for a wealthy burial the jars show a strange lack of uniformity. They differ considerably, not merely in size and shape, but in the quality of the stone from which they were cut, and it is quite possible that the burial contractor saved the expense of a new set by making one up from odd jars that he happened to have on hand. We must remember, however, that uniformity does not seem to have been *essential* in Twelfth Dynasty burials. In a set found in one of the Dashur royal graves³ two of the jars were of the usual type, whereas the other two were of a very curious box-like shape, and similarly, if we consider size alone, we may divide the present set into pairs. It is possible that there was a definite reason for making two of the jars larger than the other two.

Jar A was of white stone with a large ripply grain. It was 26.7 cm. high, with a maximum diameter of 20.15 cm., and a minimum of 13 cm.

Jar B was of dark brownish-yellow stone with red grain. It was 31 cm. in height; maximum diameter, 21.65 cm., minimum, 12 cm.

Jar C was of very light chocolate-colored stone with white grain. It was 31 cm. high; maximum diameter, 21.6 cm., minimum, 12.4 cm.

¹In the course of our excavations at the Pyramid of Senusert I at Lisht, a larger wooden shrine of the same form was found in a small chamber in the thickness of the brick enclosure-wall of the *mastaba* of Imhotep. See *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 2, supplement. In that instance the shrine contained the emblem of Anubis, and it is just possible that the present shrines also held, or were intended to hold, sacred emblems.

²The Canopic chest is described above on pages 32 to 36.

³De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 73.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Jar D was of white stone with large red and white grain. It was 27.6 cm. high; maximum diameter, 19.5 cm., minimum, 12.45 cm. Flaws in the stone were patched with plaster.

A was at the south-west corner of the box, B at the north-west, C at the south-east, and D at the north-east. Between C and D there was a lump of cloth, resting on the cross-bar of the box, apparently to preserve the face of D from injury. As the photograph in Plate VIII, C shows, there was no attempt at uniformity as to the direction in which the heads were faced.

Description of
the heads

The heads were cut from solid blocks of cedar. The features were roughly indicated in the wood, and then carefully modeled in the plaster with which the whole head was covered. The face and ears were painted yellow, the hair, eyebrows, and eye extensions blue, and the eyes themselves black. Like the jars the heads (see Pl. XXXIII, A) were by no means uniform in character. The two on the left of the photograph are unfortu-

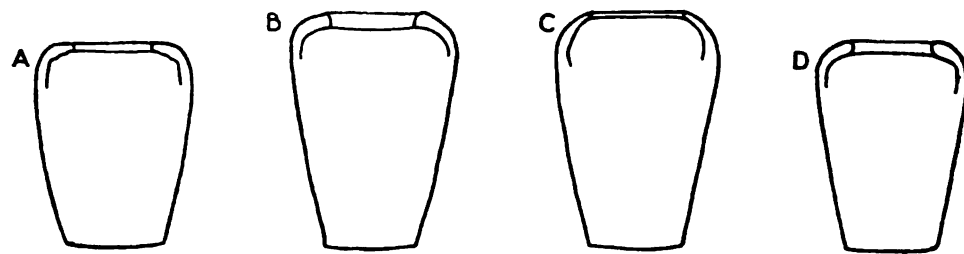


FIG. 81
CANOPIC JARS. SCALE 1 : 10

nately in a damaged state, the plaster modeling of the features having almost entirely disappeared, but the faces of the other two (see also profiles below) are practically perfect, and show a marked difference of type. The heads vary in height from 11.2 to 12.1 cm. and in width from 12.8 to 14.4 cm. None of them are bearded.

Development
and range of
Canopic jars

The period to which this tomb belongs marks an interesting stage in the history of Canopic jars, so that a few notes as to their general¹ development will not be out of place. They occur first, though rarely,² toward the close of the Old Kingdom, the time when mummification, or at any rate the degree of mummification which involved the removal of the viscera, was first coming into use among the better classes. Those in private graves were made of limestone, had flat caps for lids instead of heads, and were apparently not enclosed in boxes. In the pyramid of Pepi Meryre, however, there was an aragonite chest and aragonite Canopic jars with the same flat lids. For a time after

¹It should be remembered that in no branch of Egyptian archaeology is it possible to lay down an absolutely hard and fast line of development to which all cases must conform. One has always to reckon with a number of apparent inconsistencies in minor details, due to fad, archaism, or local custom.

²Dr. Reisner informs us that in the large series of mastabas cleared by him at Gizeh some ten sets were found. In no case had the jars been used. This was also the case with the jars of Per-neb. See above, p. 52, note 3.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, INCLUDING THE POTTERY

the close of the Old Kingdom we lose sight of jars altogether, and when we next—in the Heracleopolitan period—meet with evidence of the preservation of the viscera, we find them treated in quite a new way, being wrapped and placed, not in jars, but in a compartmented box (see p. 52). Arising out of this custom we get, in the districts which came under Heracleopolitan influence at any rate, a fresh development of the Canopic jar, following very closely that of the anthropoid coffin (see p. 53). First, cartonnage masks, similar in appearance to those which were placed over the heads of the mummies of the period, and which were certainly intended as portraits, were laid upon the bundles.¹ Then, following the full-length mummy cartonnages, jars of cartonnage were contrived,² and finally, at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, or shortly before, the introduction of anthropoid coffins of solid wood was coincident with the appearance of solid jars, first of wood,³ and then of stone or pottery, with heads either of painted wood or of stone instead of masks. Some of the earliest wooden jars were distinctly mummiform in appearance.⁴ It seems clear that just as the Canopic box represented the rectangular coffin of the viscera (see p. 52), so the jar was regarded as the equivalent of the inner mummiform coffin.

It was at about this period also that the jars were given a more definite connection with the Children of Horus, a change marked by the fact that from now on three of the heads were always represented with beards, whereas the fourth was left beardless. Despite this change in, or rather amplification of, the symbolism of the jars, it was still the intention to represent by the heads portraits of the deceased. Portraits they remained until the great change in the Nineteenth Dynasty, when the heads of the deities themselves were substituted for the four human heads. Texts make their appearance on jars, to which they were transferred from the boxes, at about the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁵

The heads
intended as
portraits

No parallel to the present set of Canopic jars was found at Dashur, the reason probably being that the princesses had advanced a stage further than Senebtisi in the development of burial ritual. In both cases plain coffins were used instead of polychrome, but at Dashur the painted Canopic head which was originally associated with polychrome coffins was abandoned also. Painted wooden heads, however, are not uncommon at the period, though they tend to become relegated to the provinces, and it will be sufficient to quote a set found at Rifeh,⁶ in which the jars themselves were of pottery, but the heads were of almost exactly the same type as the present ones.

Similar
examples
elsewhere

¹Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 93.

²In the Metropolitan Museum (11.150.18) is a set of cartonnage jars from Meir, surmounted by cartonnage masks, which in shape are exact duplicates of those found on the mummies (*Handbook to the Egyptian Rooms*, 1st ed., p. 66).

³Early examples of wooden jars are given by Reisner in *J. Z.*, XXXVII, p. 1. A set of wooden jars with wooden heads was found by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition near the pyramid of Senusert I (Access. No. 14.3.30-33).

⁴Reisner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1. A wooden "jar" from Meir, shaped exactly like an anthropoid coffin, is in the Metropolitan Museum (12.182.61).

⁵The formulæ are given by Reisner (*op. cit.*, p. 4).

⁶Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. X, D.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

4. *The Pottery*

Characteristics
of the pottery

Different from
ordinary
Middle
Kingdom
pottery

The pottery was rough and coarse, and at first view seemed to consist of curiously unfamiliar shapes. The types, however, can be paralleled, almost without exception, both at the royal tombs of Dashur, and at the pyramid cemetery of Hawara. We note further that in all three places the types and peculiarities that are usually supposed to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom—the prevalence of the round-bottomed jar, the occurrence of smooth white-faced ware, and the use of clover-shaped tops and incised wavy decoration—are for the most part absent. Indeed, the shapes and certain of the

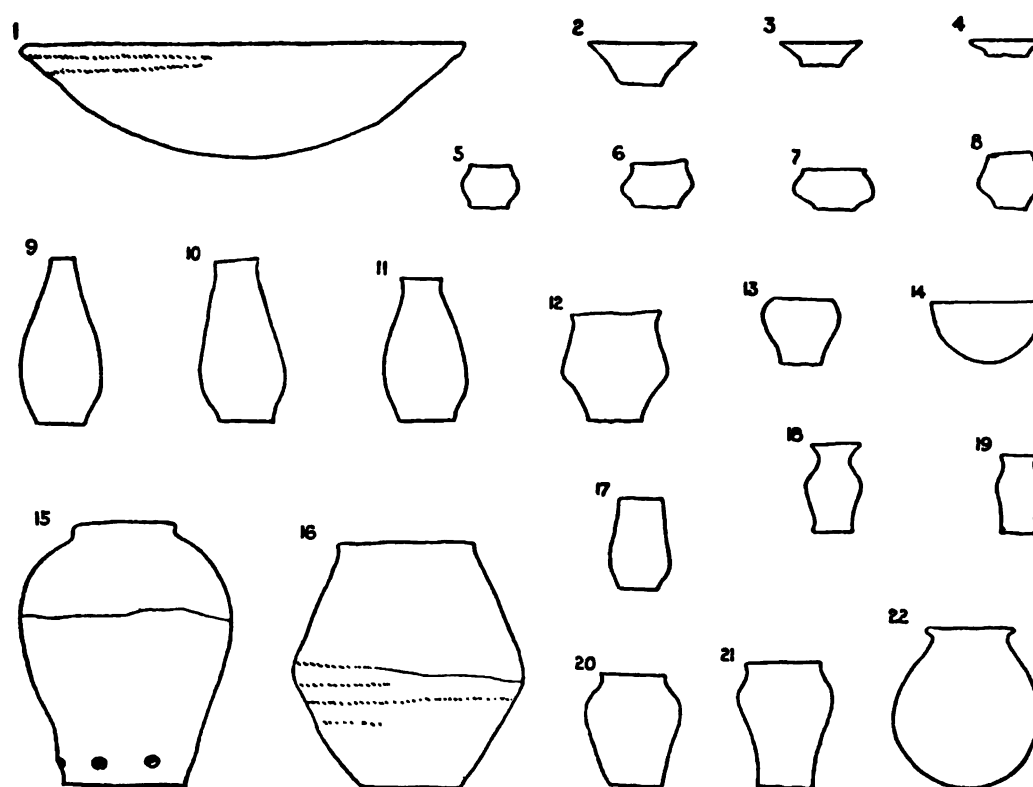


FIG. 82

POTTERY TYPES. SCALE 1 : 8

features, such as the whitening of the insides of the dishes and the use of red line decoration, are more closely allied to the pottery of the Intermediate and early Empire period than to that which we have been accustomed to call Twelfth Dynasty. We must, however, accept the pottery from the royal cemeteries as more truly characteristic of their period than that which comes from smaller tombs in more remote places. Hence it follows that the "Middle Kingdom" types of pottery quoted above are not, strictly speaking, Twelfth Dynasty types at all. True, they may in smaller graves and in provincial sites persist into the Twelfth Dynasty, but they must be regarded as survivals and not types. It is the innovation that is typical of a new period, rather than the survival from

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an old one. As a matter of fact, moreover, the provincial classes of pottery are found in greatest numbers in cemeteries which are definitely pre-Twelfth in date also, such as Denderah;¹ and in other cases there are sites which have been dated vaguely to "Middle Kingdom," but which really belong almost entirely to the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Dynasties, and hardly touch the Twelfth Dynasty at all. We shall return to this subject in Chapter VII.

Our present pottery is shown on Plates XXXIV and XXXV, and the various types in Fig. 82. There were in all 206 pots in the tomb, divided as follows: 9 large dishes, 8 of type 1 and the ninth the curious multiple dish shown on Plate XXXV, A and B, and in Fig. 85; 20 variants of types 5-8; 15 variants of types 9-10; 1 example each of types 11 and 12; 3 examples of type 13; 1 example of type 14; 8 examples each of

Distribution of the various types

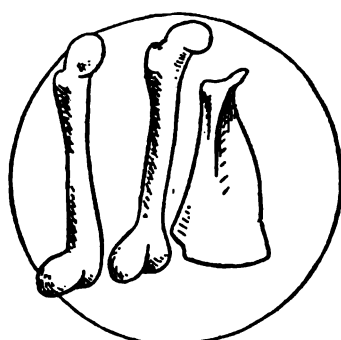


FIG. 83
DISH CONTAINING BEEF JOINTS



FIG. 84
DISH CONTAINING TRUSSED BIRDS
AND A JOINT OF MEAT

types 15 and 16; 4 examples of type 17; 5 variants each of types 18 and 19; 1 example each of types 20-22. The rest were tiny dishes, variants of types 2-4.

Type 1. Coarse yellowish-brown ware, very roughly and irregularly made. The dishes all bore traces of rope marks under the brim. The modern Egyptian potter twists a short length of cord two or three times around the largest diameter of his pots before removing them from the wheel, to keep them from collapsing while drying in the sun before baking. The natural inference is that the ancient potter had the same purpose in view. Several of these dishes showed signs of white paint on their rims, and one (see Pl. XXXIV) had a broad band of white and a white cross on the inside. They varied in diameter from 46.5 cm. to 54 cm. Rough dishes of this kind are very common, and have a wide range. They were intended in the first instance for food offerings, and two of the present set actually held such offerings—one the remains of two large beef joints (Fig. 83), and the other (Fig. 84) some ribs of beef, a goose(?), and a couple of trussed ducks (?). Dishes containing bones have also been found at Dashur² and at Abusir.³

Large dishes

¹Petrie, *Denderah*, Pls. XVII and XVIII.

²De Morgan, *Dabchour* II, p. 46.

³Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, pp. 79 and 88.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

Upon another of the dishes (Pl. XXXV, C) were piled a number of tiny saucers (types 2-4). Three instances of this occurred at Dashur.¹

Another (Pl. XXXV, D) contained 125 small clay pellets—imitation incense balls. At Dashur there were parallels of this also.²

Model dishes
and vases

Types 2-8, 12, 13, 17, 18, and 19. These model dishes and small vases were all of the same coarse yellowish-brown ware. They were very carelessly and irregularly made, no two of them being exactly alike. The bottoms were in some cases left rough, occasionally showing the marks of the cord with which they were cut from the lump of clay on the wheel (see Pl. XXXV). The insides of the dishes were sometimes ornamented with a spiral grooving, effected by some sharp instrument while the dish was still on the wheel (Pl. XXXV, E).

These types were all represented at Hawara,³ and several of them also on the town site of Kahun.⁴

Narrow-necked
vases

Types 9, 10, and 11. These were of the same ware as the foregoing, but in some cases they were covered with a wash of red ochre. They were found also at Hawara.⁵

Round-
bottomed dish

Type 14. Of the same ware. Lipless round-bottomed dishes are very common both in the Middle Kingdom and in the Empire. They undergo a distinct change of form, however, the pre-Twelfth Dynasty dish being usually a segment of a circle, whereas later they are elliptical and irregular.

Large jars
with narrow
mouths

Type 15. Yellowish-brown pottery, smooth above but very roughly finished off below. The upper part of the jar was covered with a wash of red ochre. At the bottom there were irregular holes, probably caused by the fingers in lifting the jar from the wheel. The mouths of the jars were stoppered with conical mud sealings. The type occurred also in one of the royal tombs at Dashur,⁶ and at Hawara⁷ there was a jar that was very similar, though not identical.

Large jars with
wide mouths

Type 16. Similar ware to the foregoing, with red ochre wash and mud sealing. The lower part of the jar, however, was more smoothly finished off, and there were rope marks. The shape is unusual, and was only paralleled at Dashur.⁸

Small jars

Types 20 and 21. These were of the same ware, but were covered all over with a wash of red ochre. Both shapes occurred in the pottery from the Hawara cemetery.

Round-
bottomed jar

Type 22. This was of a smooth red ware, of rather finer quality than the rest of the pottery. It is the sole representative in this tomb of the characteristic "Middle Kingdom" round-bottomed pot. A similar type occurred at Dashur.⁹

Multiple dish

The curious dish in Fig. 85 (see also Pl. XXXV, A and B), with its central cup and seven

¹De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 108; *Dabchour* II, pp. 25 and 46.

²Petrie, *Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, Pls. XXXIII and XXXIV.

³Petrie, *Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, Pl. XXXIV, 76 and 77.

⁴Petrie, *Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, Pl. XXXIV, 90.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶*Ibid.*, I, p. 37; *Ibid.*, II, p. 46.

⁷Petrie, *Kahun*, Pls. XII and XIII.

⁸De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 108.

⁹De Morgan, *Dabchour* I, p. 108.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, INCLUDING THE POTTERY

compartments divided off by radiating spokes, was apparently contrived for serving up a number of viands on a single platter. Nothing like it has been found, so far as we know, elsewhere, the nearest approach being a dish with one partition from Kahun.¹ The upper part of the outside and the whole of the inside were covered with a heavy white wash.

¹ Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. XIII, 49.

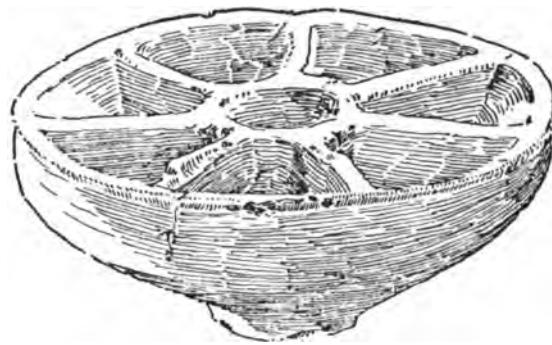


FIG. 85

POTTERY DISH. SCALE 2 : 15

CHAPTER VII

DATE OF TOMB AND COMPARISON WITH TOMBS ON OTHER SITES

Close
connection
with the royal
tombs at
Dashur

OUR tomb can be dated with great certainty to the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty, and this quite independently of the evidence of its position at Lisht, by reference to the royal tombs found by De Morgan at Dashur. The manner of burial and the objects with which the tombs were furnished were almost exactly identical in the two places, the chief difference being that whereas in the tombs of the princesses the ornaments were of solid gold, Senebtisi had in most cases to be content with plaster overlaid with gold leaf. We have, therefore, from two sites, a complete and accurate knowledge of the essentials of a better class Twelfth Dynasty burial. We must remember, however, that in both cases the sites marked the burial places of the Court officials, who were likely to be somewhat more advanced in their ideas than the dwellers in the provincial districts; the general rule being that the further removed a site is from Court, the more conservative and behind the times it is with regard to its burial customs.

The Dashur-
Lisht burials
different from
the ordinary
Middle
Kingdom type

Now, as we have several times had occasion to note in previous chapters, the class of burial which obtained at Dashur and Lisht differs in its most essential points from that which we have always been accustomed to consider the regular Middle Kingdom type, the chief characteristics of which are painted coffins, sometimes with elaborately decorated exteriors, and interiors almost always covered with representations of the various burial offerings; boat models and groups of servants engaged in various household vocations; *nabuts* and bows; and pottery of which the most distinguishing features were round bottoms, clover-shaped mouths, smooth white ware, and a wavy line decoration. With the exception of the *nabuts* and bows none of these so-called distinguishing marks of Middle Kingdom tombs are to be found, either in Senebtisi's tomb, or in the royal tombs of Dashur. The coffins are simple, with plain bands of inscription on the sides and down the center of the lid, and with never a trace of painted offerings inside. Bows

COMPARISON WITH TOMBS ON OTHER SITES

and *nabuts* are losing their prominence and are being supplanted by divine sceptres. Boat and servant models disappear, and the pottery is plain, coarse, and for the most part undecorated. It is clear, then, that in *style* at any rate these so-called Middle Kingdom graves, with painted coffins and boat and servant models, are definitely earlier than the Dashur-Lisht type of grave. How far does the actual dating evidence bear out the evidence of style? The principal sites on which graves of this sort have been found are Assiut,¹ Meir,² Abusir,³ Beni-Hasan,⁴ Rifeh,⁵ Saqqara,⁶ and Naga ed Deir.⁷ At Naga ed Deir painted coffins with lists of offerings and boat and servant models were found in tombs which may have been as early as Sixth Dynasty, and were certainly not later than Ninth. The tombs at Assiut, from the names on the coffins and other evidence, belonged almost entirely to the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties. Those from Meir began in the same period, and lasted over into the Twelfth Dynasty. At Abusir we get further connections with the Heracleopolitan dynasties, two of the tombs having been constructed by priests whose names were made up of compounds with that of the Heracleopolitan god Hereshef. There was definite evidence, moreover, that the series of tombs began as early as the Sixth Dynasty, and nothing to prove that it lasted as late as the Twelfth. The Saqqara tombs, as a glance at the pottery is quite sufficient to show, were certainly pre-Twelfth Dynasty, and probably went back as early as the Ninth. At Rifeh there was no absolute dating evidence, but there is no doubt, as Petrie points out, that the tombs mainly belong to the period between the Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties, with a few of them running over into the Twelfth. There remains Beni Hasan, and here we seem at first to meet with conflicting evidence, the site of Beni Hasan being, as a rule, so closely identified with the Twelfth Dynasty. Garstang claims that the pit-tombs containing boats and models which he excavated in the lower ground below the tiers of Twelfth Dynasty rock-cut tombs were contemporary with the latter; and puts forward the theory that they represent the graves of servants and retainers, each trying to get as near to the grave of his master as possible. He has to admit, however, that in no case did the name found in the small grave correspond with that of any of the servants who were pictured on the painted walls of the tomb above. As a matter of fact, it by no means follows that smaller graves in front of rock-cut tombs are contemporary with them. At Naga ed Deir pit graves of this kind were more commonly earlier than the rock-cut tombs above them, and were sometimes buried under the mass of chip which had been thrown out from the construction of the larger tombs. The Beni Hasan site was in continuous use as a necropolis from the Sixth Dynasty to the Eighteenth, and

The so-called Middle Kingdom burial really pre-XIIth dyn. in type

¹Chassinat et Palanque, *Une Campagne de Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiut*.

²Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Annales*, X, p. 185; XI, p. 7; XII, p. 98.

³Schäfer, *Priestergräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê*.

⁴Garstang, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*.

⁵Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*.

⁶Quibell, *Saqqara II*.

⁷Excavations of the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California, not yet published.

THE TOMB OF SENEPTISI

"Heracleopolitan"
suggested as an
alternative
term

it is probable that many of these "boat and model" tombs belong to the Ninth–Eleventh Dynasty period. Some of them, however, are undoubtedly Twelfth. The graves of this class, then, occur first at the close of the Old Kingdom, and attain their height of popularity during the Ninth–Eleventh Dynasty period. They run over into the Twelfth Dynasty—even at Lisht there were instances—but only in the poorer tombs, or in provincial districts. It is therefore misleading, since they are not actually representative of the Twelfth Dynasty, to speak of them as "Middle Kingdom," and we would suggest as a substitute the use of the term "Heracleopolitan." It was under the Heracleopolitan kings that they attained their chief vogue, and it was in sites situated in the Heracleopolitan nome that they persisted longest.

The Dashur-
Lisht burial
the "Court"
type

The new type of burial, that which obtained in the cemeteries of Dashur and Lisht, seems, at the beginning of the dynasty at any rate, to have represented the "Court" idea, as opposed to the "Provincial." The changes from the old are so radical, and make their appearance so abruptly, that they probably reflect for us yet another aspect of the reorganizing activities of the first Amenemhat. Such changes, though adopted by the Court as in duty bound, would take time to spread and become popular, and it is not surprising to find the older type of burial lasting on, though in modified form, in the more remote districts, and in places, such as the old strongholds of Heracleopolitan power, which had a certain tradition of their own to overcome.

Connections
between the
Dashur-Lisht
burials and
those of the
early XVIIIth
dyn.

There are close points of resemblance, on the other hand, between the Dashur and Lisht type of Twelfth Dynasty grave and the early Eighteenth Dynasty grave—the grave, that is to say, of the period which preceded the foreign wars of Thothmes III, with all the development and opening up of new vistas which they involved. When we consider the period of anarchy which intervened between the two dates, it is remarkable how little change took place in the pottery, scarabs, weapons, jewelry, or any other of the tomb furniture, and we are forced, on archæological grounds alone, to the conclusion that the time must have been comparatively short. It is not too much to say that there is a more strongly marked difference in burial customs between the beginning and end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, than there is between the Twelfth Dynasty and the period of Thothmes III.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE MUMMY

BY

DR. G. ELLIOTT SMITH, F.R.S.

THE body is that of a small (probably not much more than 1.40 m.) and exceedingly slenderly built woman of about 50 years of age. The viscera had been removed through an incision 21 cm. long parallel to the left Poupart's ligament—obliquely across the left hypogastric and iliac regions—the upper end being just above the level of the iliac crest and 3 cm. in front of it. The wound gapes 2 cm. at its middle. The skin adjoining the wound and the linen stuffed into it are smeared with a polished yellowish material, which, when burnt, emits a very strong resinous odor.

The body is packed with a series of wads of linen, some of which are solidified into resinous masses.

In the upper part of the chest there is a large mass of reddish-brown material moulded to the form of the ribs. It emits a resinous odor when burnt. From an examination of its texture it is probable that it consists of powdered wood—or very fine sawdust. In front of this mass there is a small mass of linen tied into a ball. Another loose mass—found in this region—is a hollow viscus, whose cavities are packed with wads of linen (see photograph on Plate XVI, B). From an examination there can be little doubt that it is the heart. In removing the viscera the heart must have been detached, then stuffed with linen and returned to the body.

No attempt was made to remove the brain or to pack the mouth or nose. The hard black resinous-looking mass in the cranium must be the brain. The nasal skeleton and the cartilages are still intact; the mucous membrane of the mouth and pharynx is still present as a very brittle parchment-like material. A little resin had been placed in front of the eyes and the eyelids drawn over it, partly to enclose it.

The skull is long, broad, and flat; the coronal and sagittal sutures are almost completely closed and yet the small regular teeth are remarkably little worn, with the

APPENDIX

exception of the incisors. The mandible is so small that there is no room for wisdoms and in the upper jaw the wisdom is present only on the left side.

The face is very small and infantile, the eyes large and round, and the nose well proportioned, being neither aquiline nor flat.

Canopic Jars






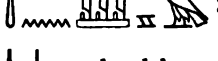












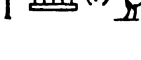
A. This jar is 26.7 cm. high and is about half filled with a resinous mass which must have been molten when put in the jar. Its surface at present is 12 cm. below the top of the jar, but originally it was 3 cm. higher up, the side walls of the jar being thinly coated with resin for about 2 cm. above this level. The mass consists chiefly of black corroded linen mixed with black resin, and encloses definite traces of some small viscus whose identity is quite unrecognizable.

B. This jar contains two parcels which have not been submerged in a fluid mass. The upper parcel is a plump sausage-like mass, 13.4 cm. long and 7.7 cm. in diameter; the lower parcel is a mass of linen and resin—enclosing a small piece of animal tissue—moulded to the form of the bottom of the jar.

On the upper surface of the top parcel there are four large scales of rotten muslin thickly coated with white powder (salt?). Practically the whole of the mass consists of one viscus rolled up and enclosed in only a thin layer of cloth. The tissues of the organ are now converted into a light papyrus-like mass, so that it is impossible to make any definite statement as to its nature. But the form and size of this mass closely recall those of the liver found in later mummies.

C. This jar is more than half filled with a black resinous mass, which was molten when put into the jar. From its surface the upper end of a long parcel projects on one side. The parcel reaches to the bottom of the jar and consists of a number of hollow tubular masses (almost certainly intestines) wrapped in linen corroded by molten resin.

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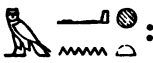



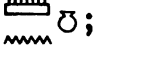

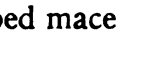
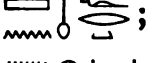
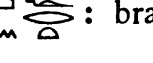


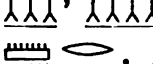
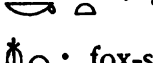



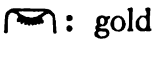
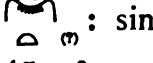
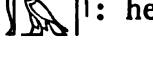
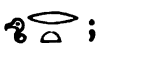
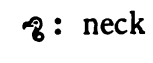

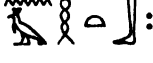

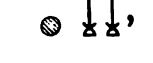
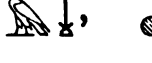



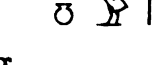

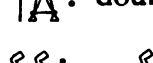
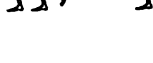


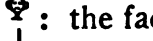
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




























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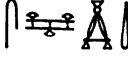


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




















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




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PLATES

PLATE I

General view of the site, taken from the top of the south pyramid.
In the distance the pyramid of Amenemhat I, and on the right, among
the palm trees, the village of Lisht. See p. 4.

PLATE I



PLATE II

A. General view of the site, taken from a point just north of the village of Lisht. On the right the pyramid of Amenemhat I, and on the left, in the distance, that of Sesostris I. See p. 4.

B. The pyramid of Amenemhat I, from the south-west. In the foreground the camp of the Expedition. See p. 4.

PLATE II



A



B

PLATE III

- A. Nearer view of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, from the south-west. The tent on the plateau to the left of the pyramid marks the exact site of the tomb of Senebtisi. See p. 4.
- B. View from the side of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, looking south-west. The rectangular patch of excavated ground marks the site of a large *mastaba*. The tomb of Senebtisi lay under the brick wall, on the left of the white area—the stone foundations of the *mastaba*. See p. 4.



A



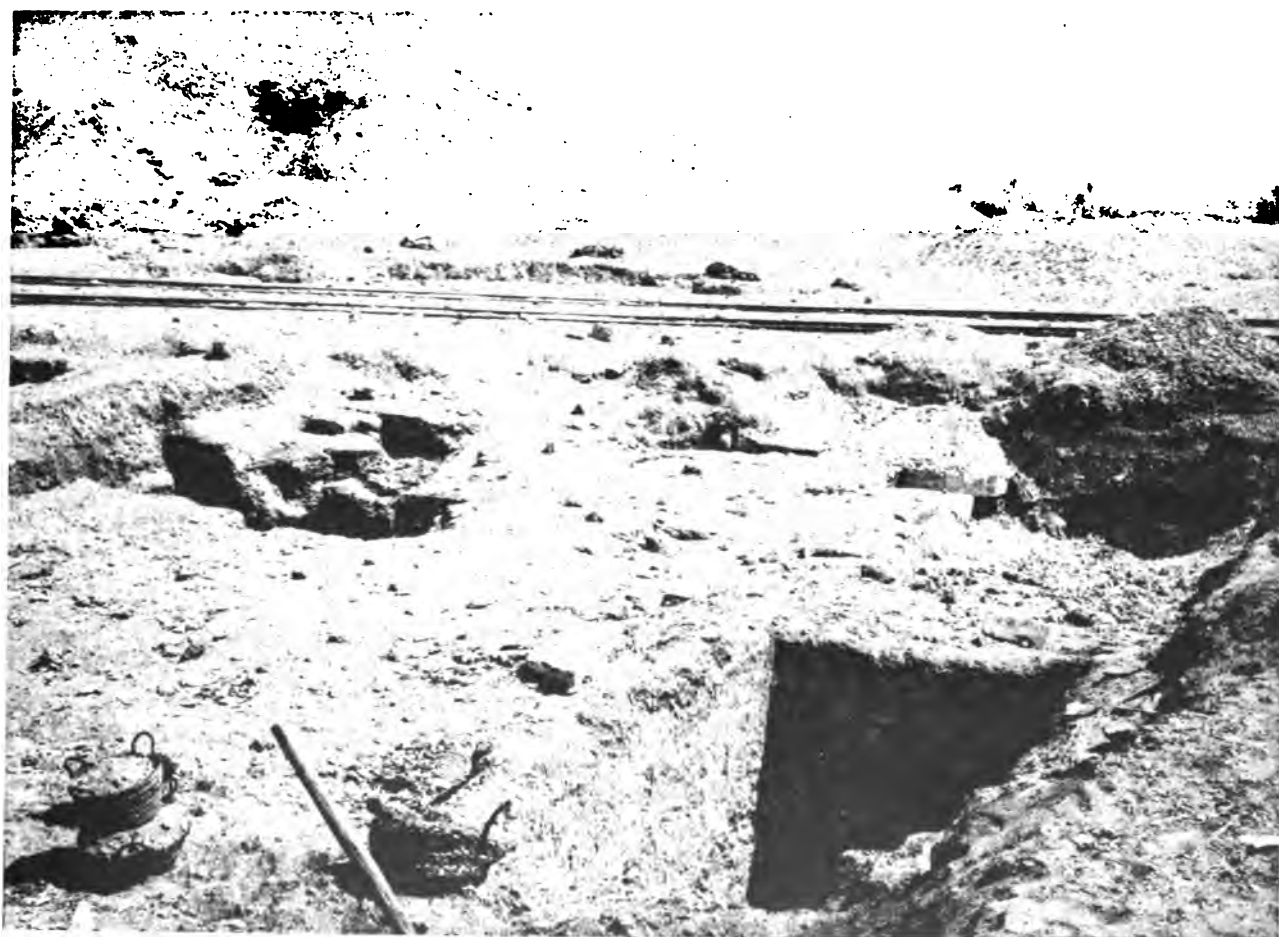
B

PLATE IV

- A. The brick-lined mouth of the tomb. The stones in the foreground belong to the *mas-taba*, and the two large pots on the right to a later occupation of the site. See p. 5.
- B. The position of the tomb in relation to the pyramid. See p. 5.



A



B

PLATE V

- A. View of the outer chamber as it appeared when first opened. The upper layer of débris consists of stone that had broken away from the roof of the chamber. See p. 9.
- B. The outer chamber after the roof débris had been cleared away. The stone blocks are part of the pit-filling, which had drifted into the chamber. On the left, against the wall, some of the pottery is already visible. See p. 10.



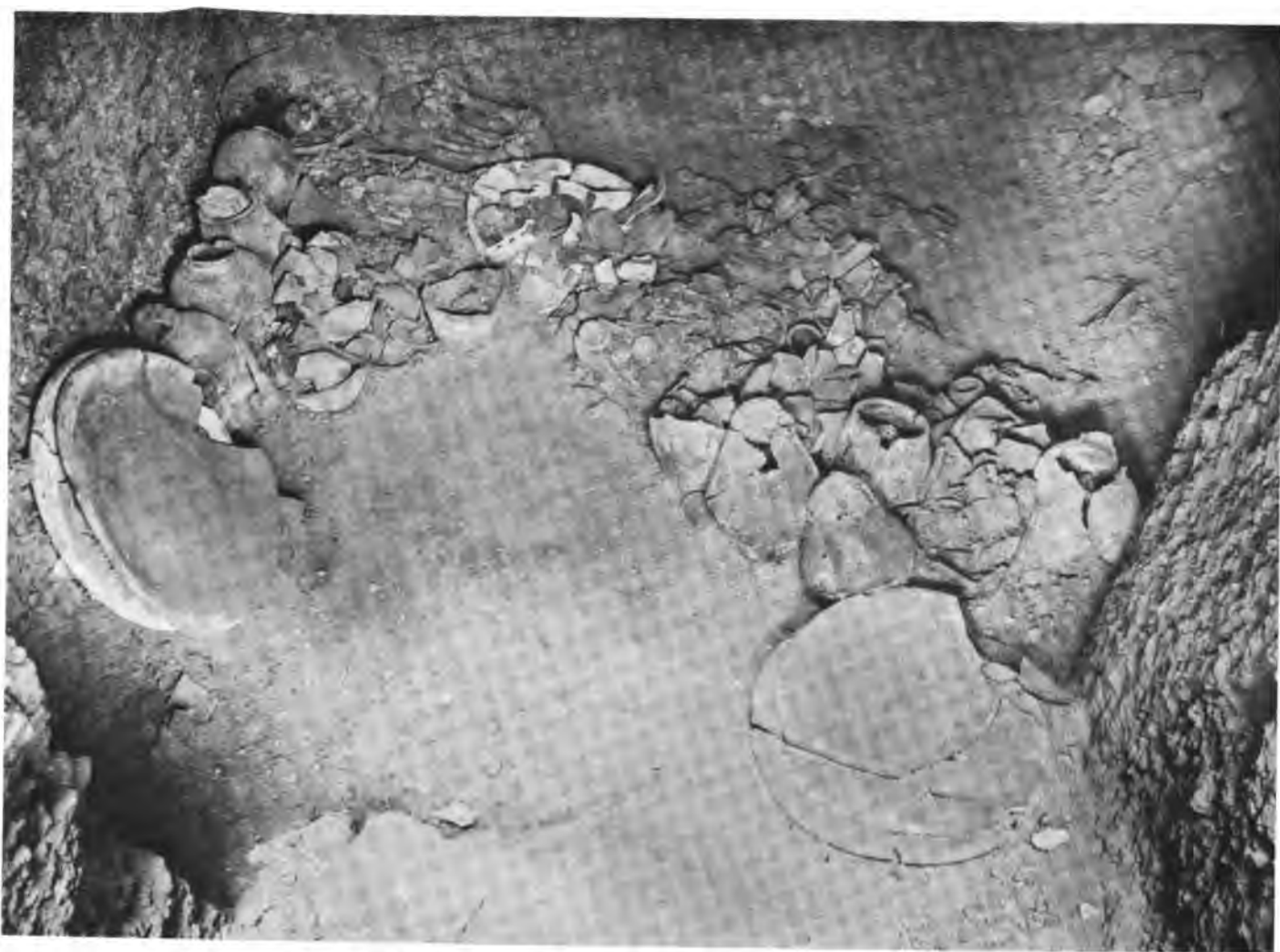
A



B

PLATE VI

- A. The pottery in the outer chamber, disturbed by plunderers and crushed by the weight of stone. The pottery types are shown in Pls. XXXIV and XXXV. See also pp. 10 and 110 to 113.
- B. First view of the burial chamber, showing the heap of débris piled over the end of the coffin. See p. 11.
- C. Bricks from the original blocking of the outer chamber, employed to hold up this pile of débris. See p. 11.



A



B



C

PLATE VII

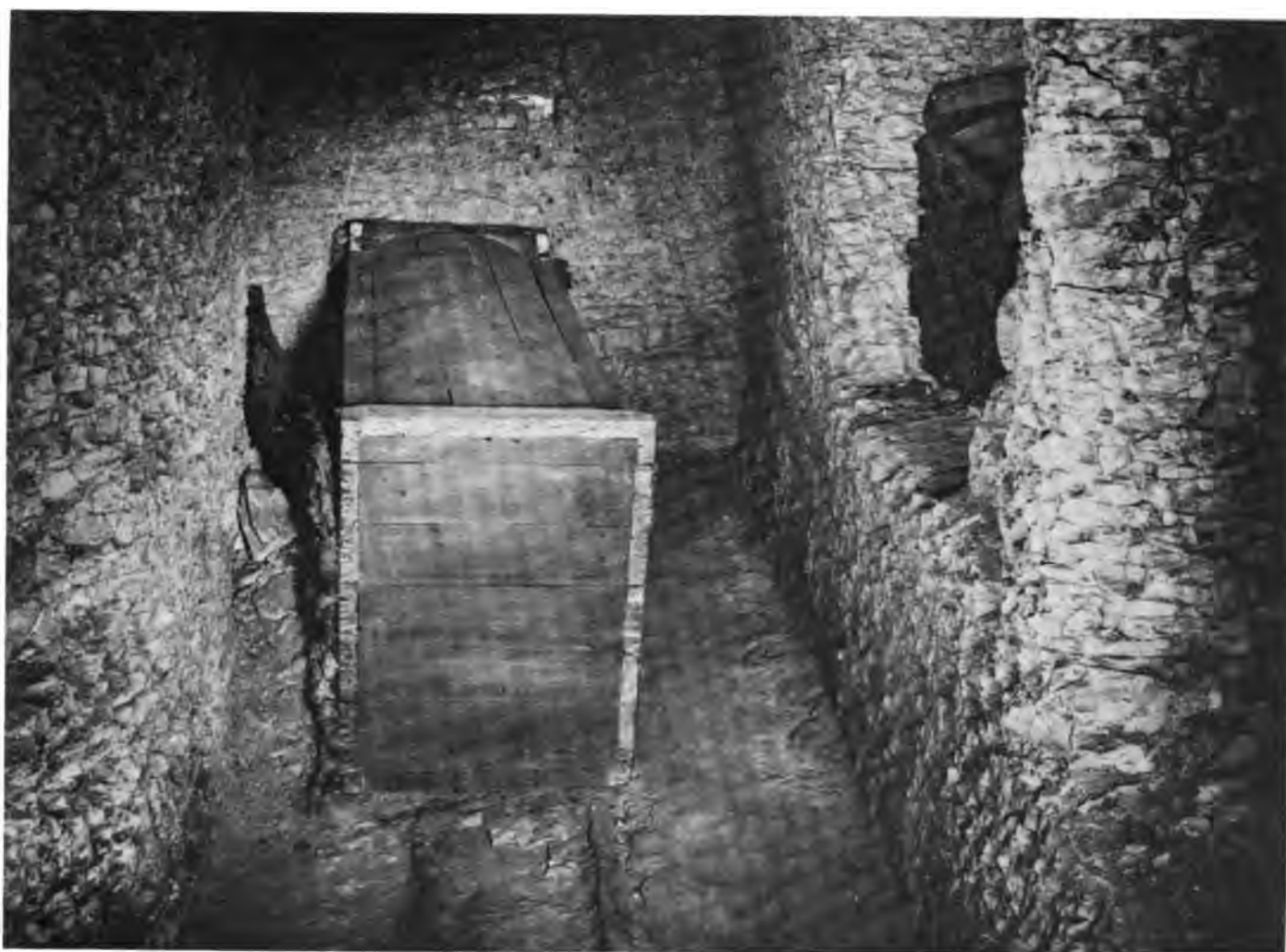
- A. Ruins of the outermost coffin. On the right the Canopic box, in its niche. See p. 12.
- B. Remains of long stave-box between the coffin and the wall of the chamber. See pp. 13 and 105.
- C. The second coffin, after clearing, with the gold leaf on its edges and lid put back in place. In front are the two skid-poles on which the coffin had been pushed into position, and on the left remains of the outermost coffin. Two views of this coffin are given on Pl. XVII. See also pp. 12 and 26 to 32.



A



B



C

PLATE VIII

- A. The Canopic box in its niche. See pp. 13 and 32 to 36.
- B. The Canopic jars in position. Views of the jars and their contents are shown on Pl. XXXIII, and a colored reproduction of one of the heads is given on Pl. XXXI. See also pp. 13 and 107 to 109.
- C and D. End and side of the outermost coffin. The bands on the edges show where the gold leaf had been stripped off by the plunderers. See p. 23.

PLATE VIII



A



C



B



D

PLATE IX

- A. Remains of a wig-box. Found in the pit, where it had been thrown out by the plunderers. See pp. 10 and 105.
- B. Contents of two shrine-shaped boxes: bundles of decayed cloth. See pp. 13 and 106.
- C. Bottom of a jar, blackened inside by fire. This may have been employed as a lamp by the plunderers. See p. 12.
- D. Remains of staves from the long stave-box. See pp. 13 and 106.
- E. One of the two shrine-shaped boxes shown in B. See pp. 13 and 106.

PLATE IX



A



B



C



D



E

PLATE X

- A. First view of the interior of the coffin, after removal of the lid, showing masses of decayed cloth, with wooden staves underneath. See p. 14.
- B. View of the interior of the coffin, after the cloth had been removed, to show the position of the staves. The crinkly substance below is the gold leaf from the innermost coffin. The group of staves is shown on Pl. XXIX. See also pp. 15 and 76 to 103.



A



B

PLATE XI

A. The remains of the innermost coffin, anthropoid in shape, and overlaid with gold leaf from head to foot. A restoration of this coffin is shown in color in the Frontispiece, and a reconstruction of its bead panel on Pl. XX. See also pp. 16 and 36 to 49.

B. View after removal of the upper part of the innermost coffin. The mummy covered with a layer of resin that had been poured over it. See p. 17.



A

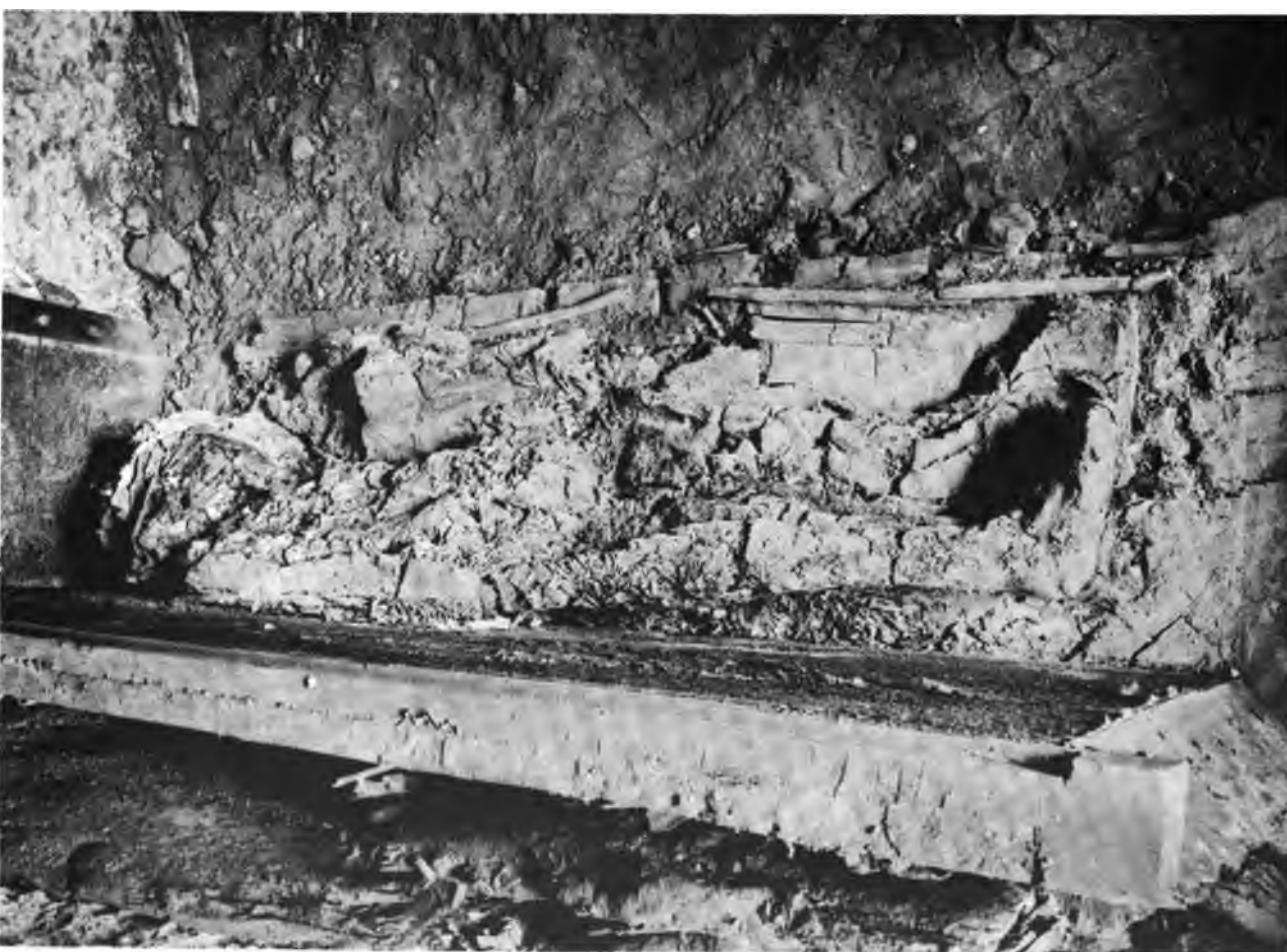


B

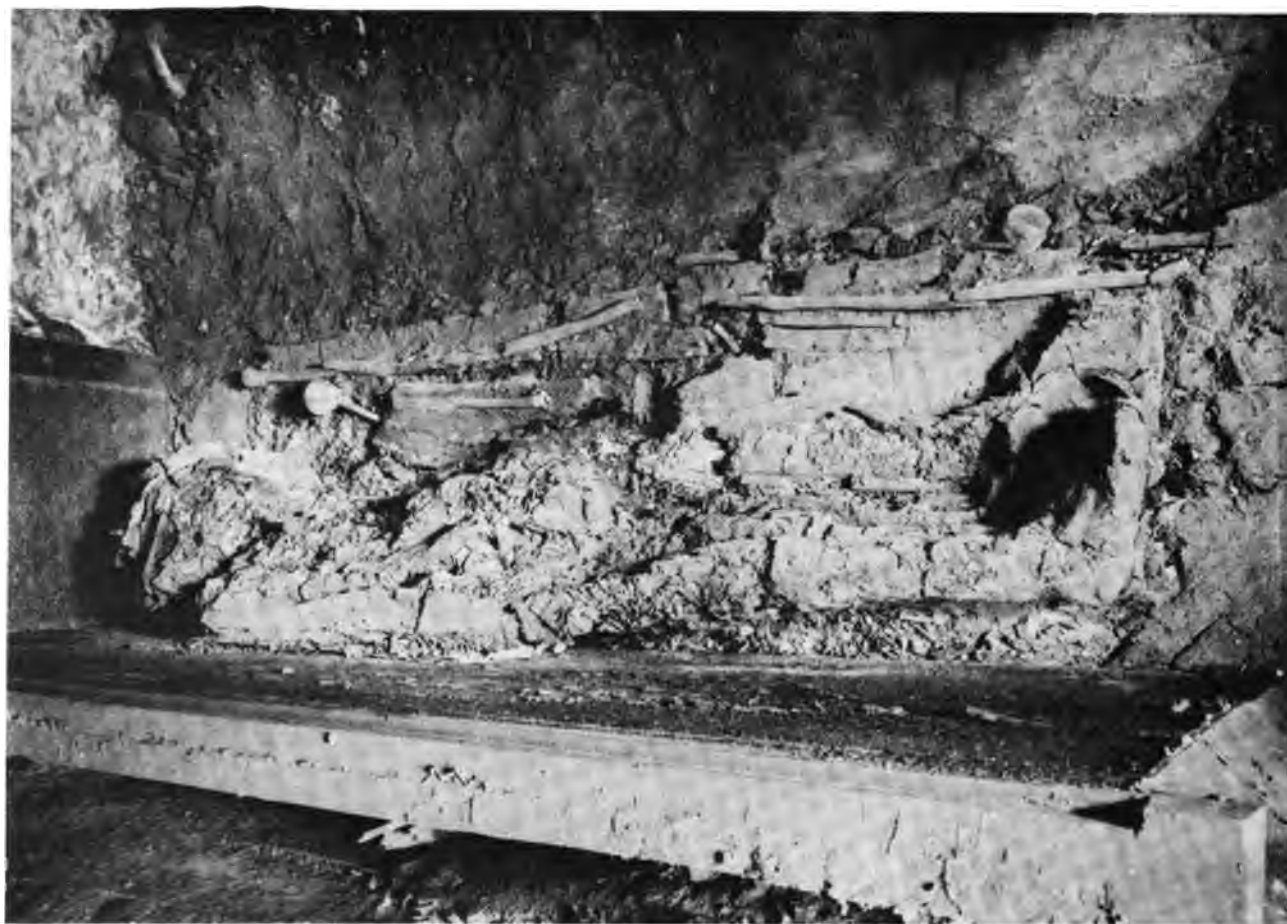
PLATE XII

A. View after removal of the resin layer. See p. 19.

B. The final stage in the clearing. See p. 19.



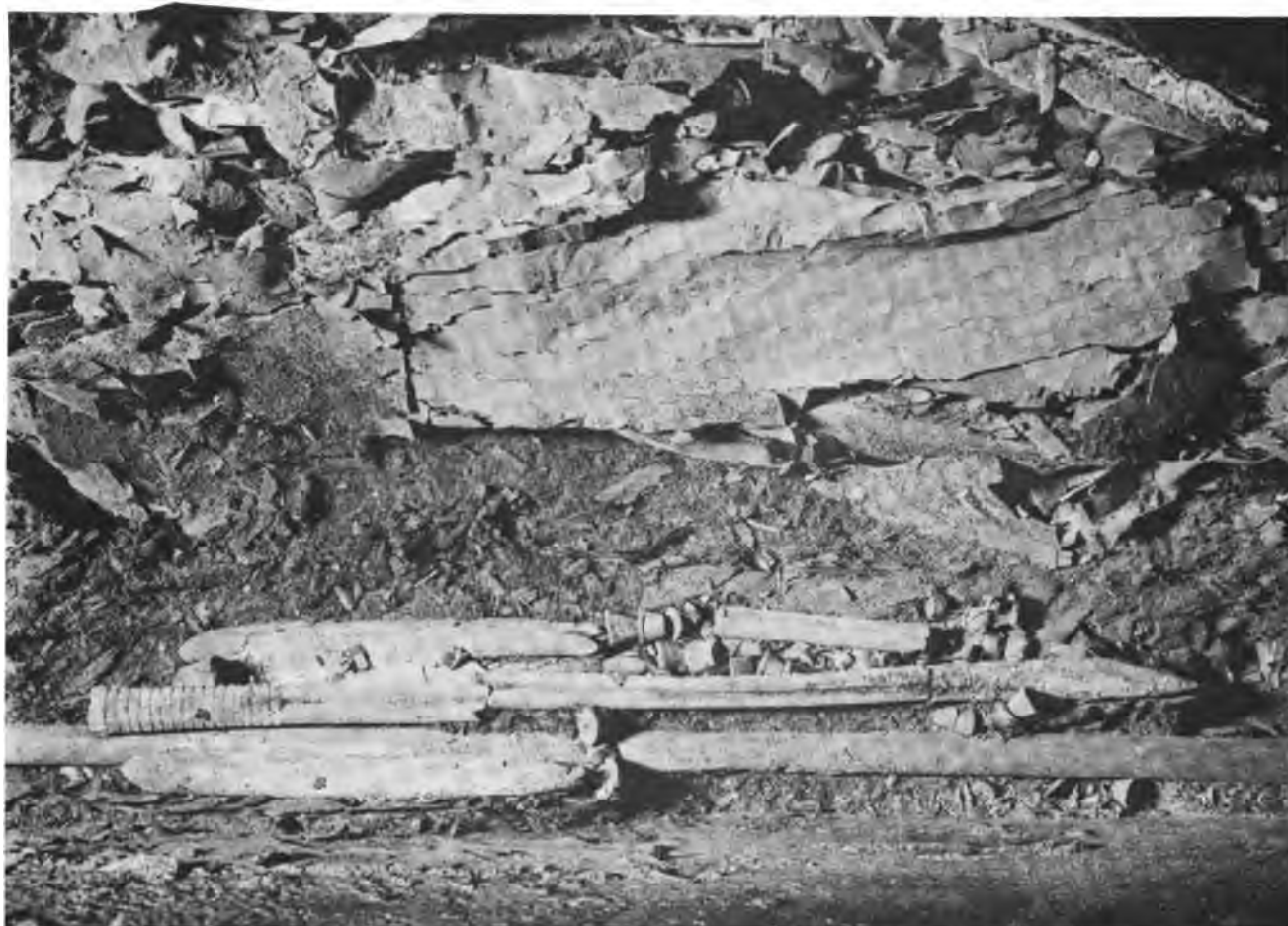
A



B

PLATE XIII

- A. The whip lying in position. This is shown in photograph on Pl. XXX and in color on Pl. XXXI. See also pp. 15 and 94 to 102.**
- B. The bead panel of the innermost coffin in position. See Frontispiece, Pl. XX, and pp. 17 and 38.**



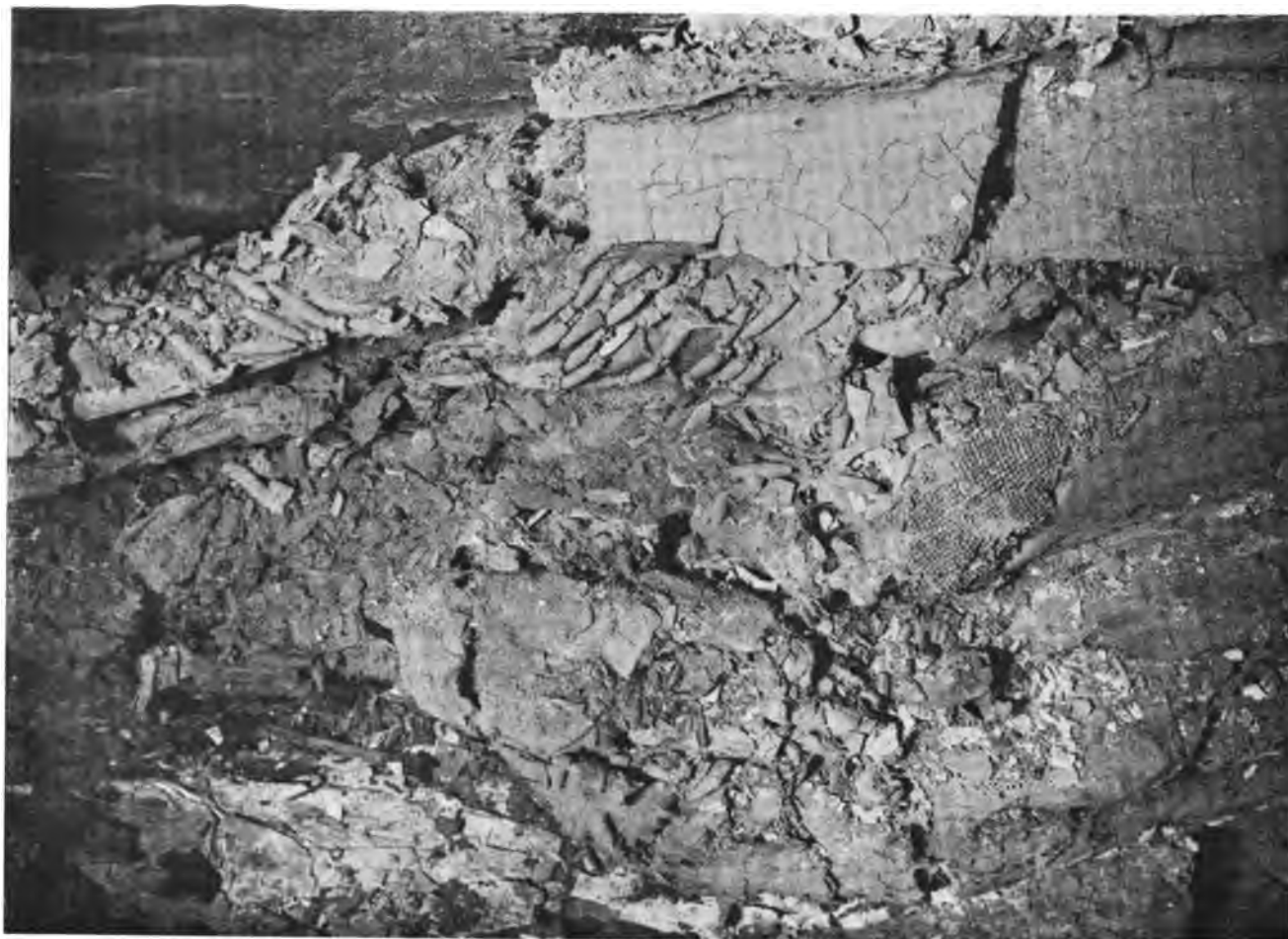
A



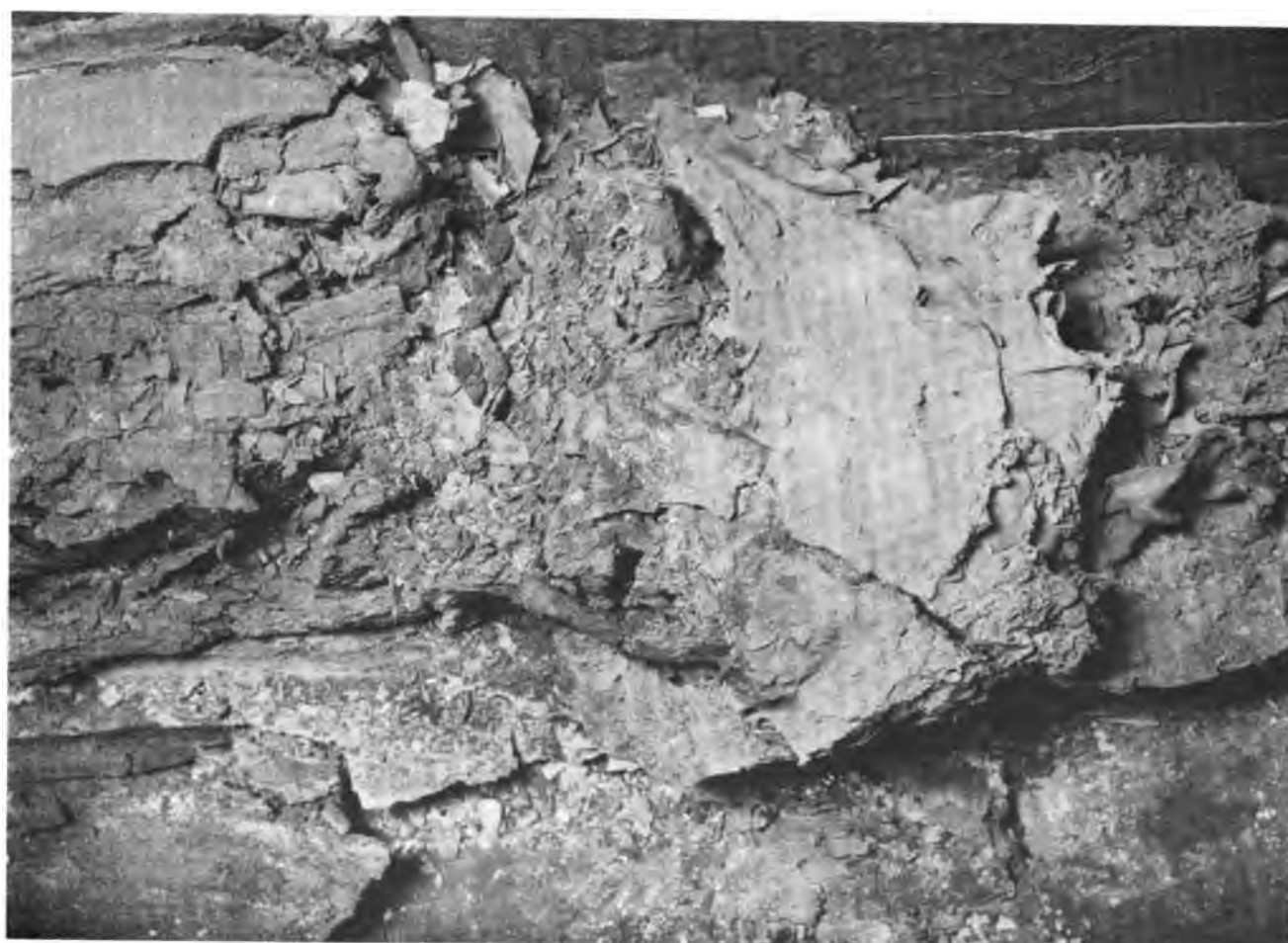
B

PLATE XIV

- A. The bead girdle in position. A reconstruction of the girdle is shown in photograph on Pl. XXVII, and a section of it in color on Pl. XXXI. See also pp. 19 and 70 to 72.
- B. The resin layer over the head and neck of the mummy. A cast of a portion of the wig shows on the right of the photograph, and, just below, the edge of the gold circlet that was embedded in the resin. See p. 18.



A



B

PLATE XV

- A. Gold circlet and rosettes embedded in the layer of resin that overlaid the head.
- B. Another view, showing the circlet almost entirely laid bare. The circlet and rosettes are shown on Pl. XXI and details of the rosettes on Pl. XXVIII. See also pp. 18 and 58.
- C. Cast of the wig left in the resin. The photograph shows also that the gold rosettes were attached to the tresses of the wig. See p. 59.
- D. Gold shell necklace embedded in lumps of resin from the region of the neck. This and the other necklaces are shown photographically on Pl. XXII and in color on Pl. XXIII. See also pp. 18 and 60 to 63.
- E. Left foot of the mummy, with anklet showing under the bandages.
- F. The same, with cloth removed to show the arrangement of beads. This, with the other anklet and the bracelets, is shown on Pl. XXVI. See also pp. 21 and 72.



A



B



C



D



E



F

PLATE XVI

- A. Part of the mummy, showing the incision wound. See pp. 21 and 119.
- B. The upper object is probably the heart, which at the time of mummification was removed from the body, stuffed with cloth, and replaced. The lower consists of powdered wood and a ball of cloth from the mummy packing. See pp. 21 and 119.
- C. The skull and a piece of the innermost coffin. See p. 119.



A



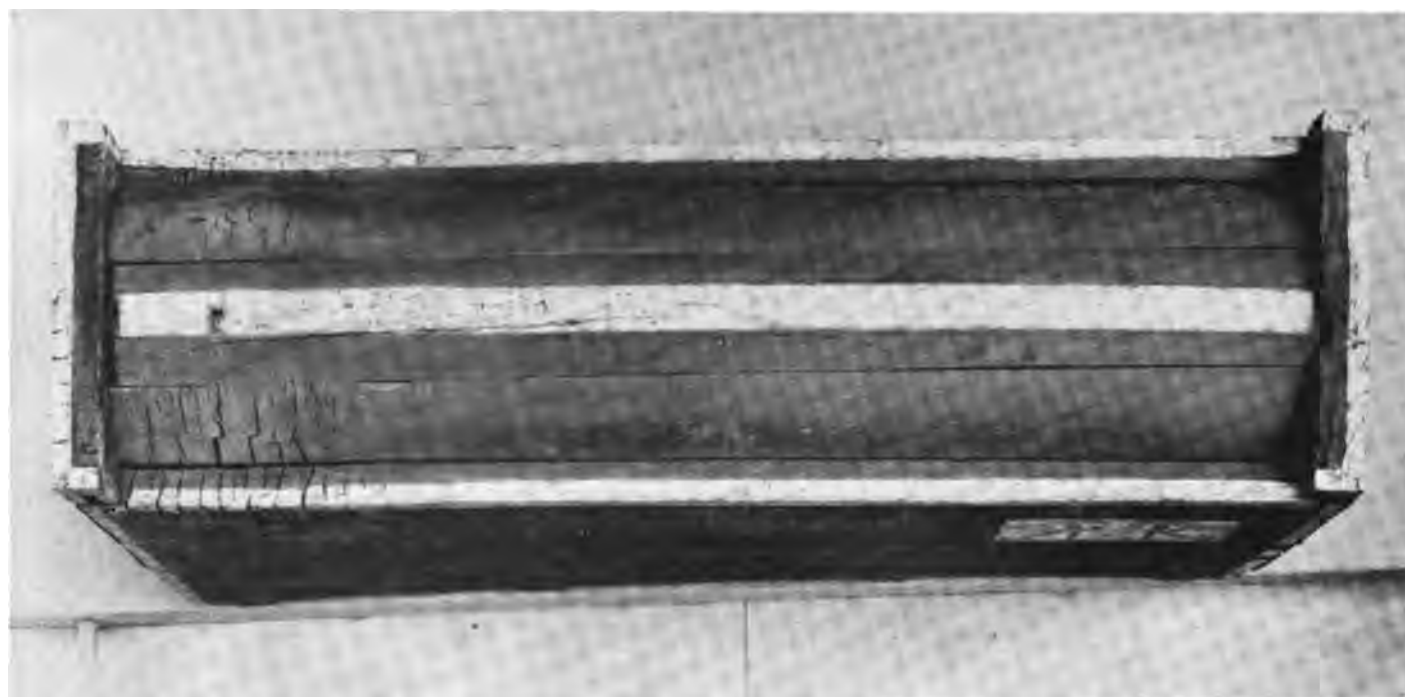
B



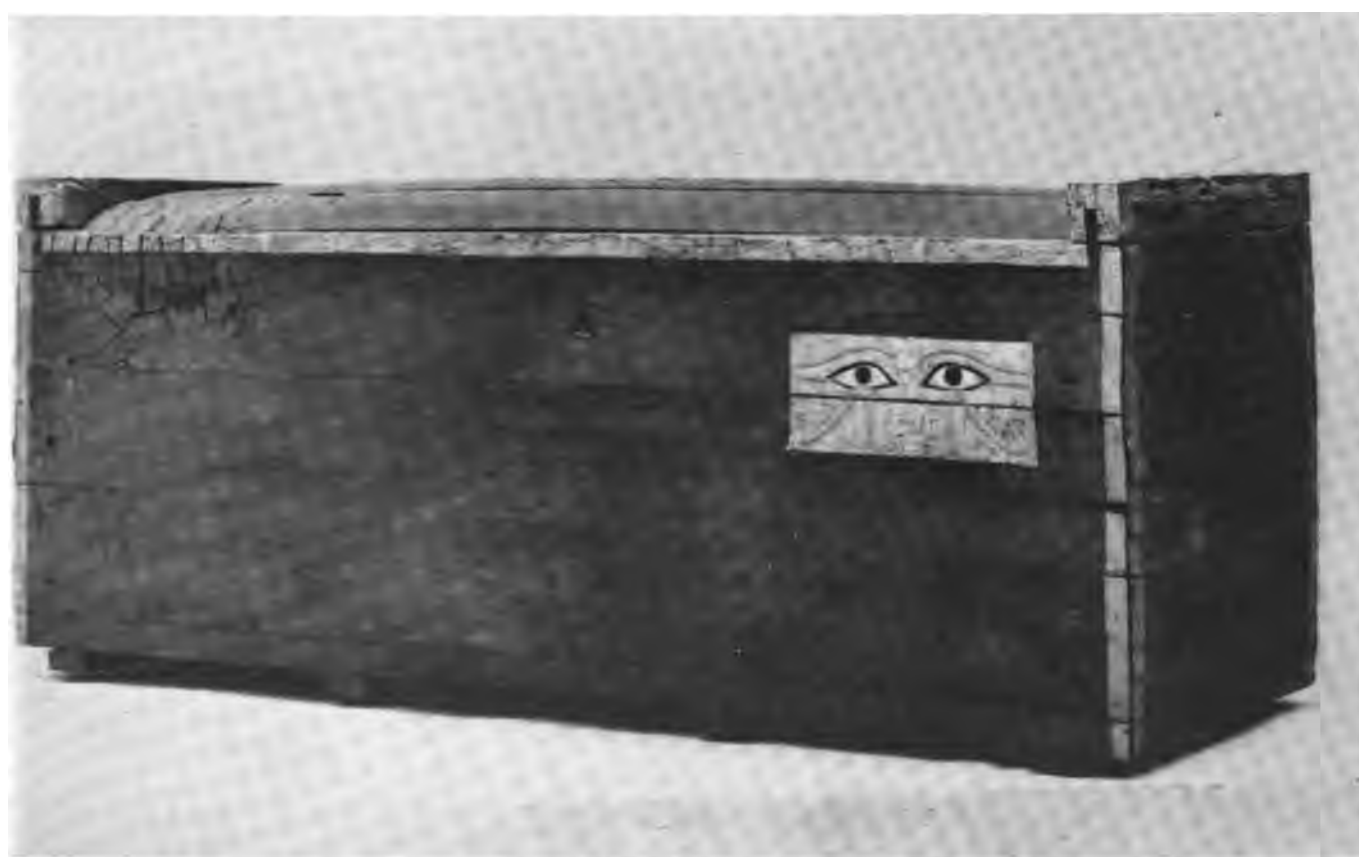
C

PLATE XVII

- A. The second coffin, from above, to show gold stripe on which was the inscription. See pp. 13 and 26 to 32.
- B. The same; view of east side.



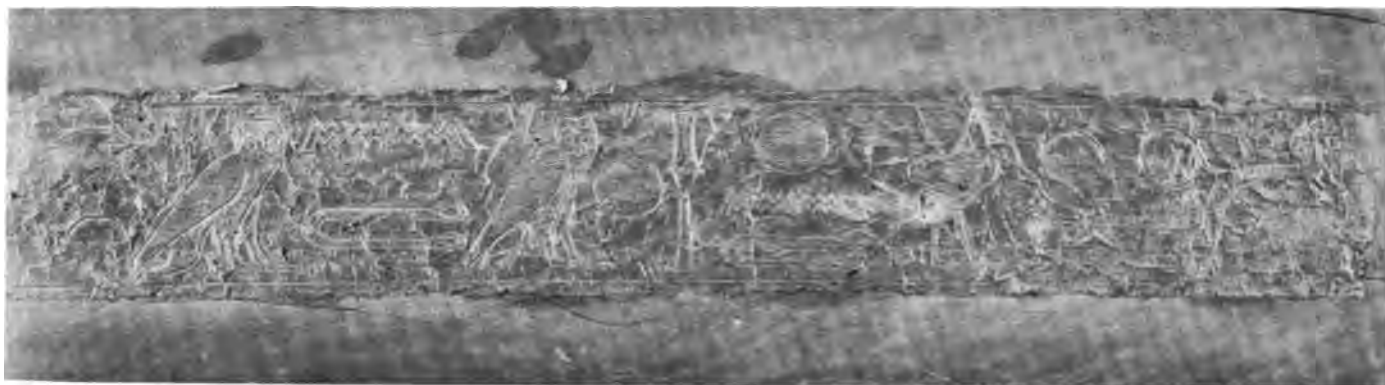
A



B

PLATE XVIII

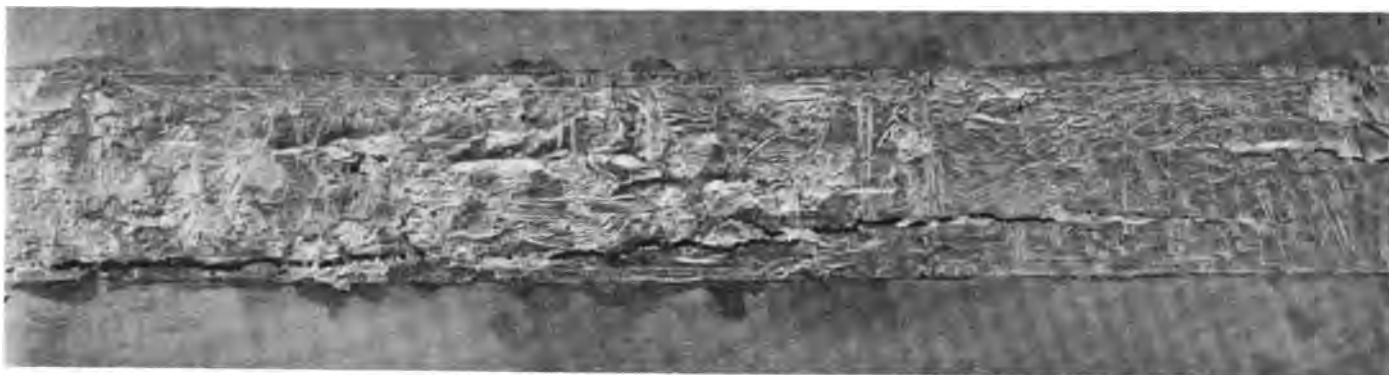
**The inscription on the lid of the second coffin.
A tracing is given on Pl. XIX. See also p.
31. Scale 2 : 5.**



A



B



C



D

PLATE XIX

**Tracing of inscription on the lid of the second
coffin. Photograph on Pl. XVIII. See also p.
31. Scale 2 : 5.**

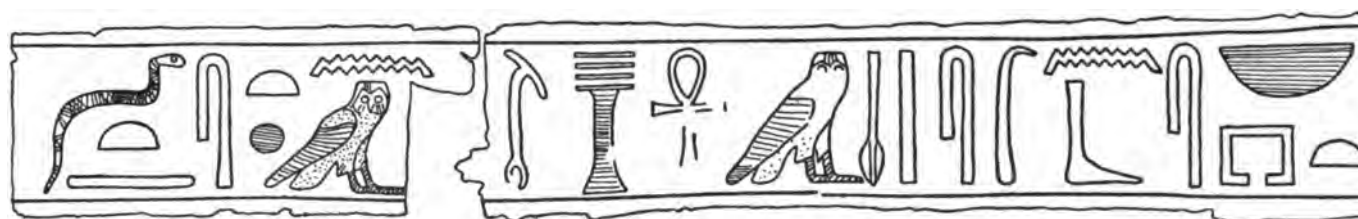
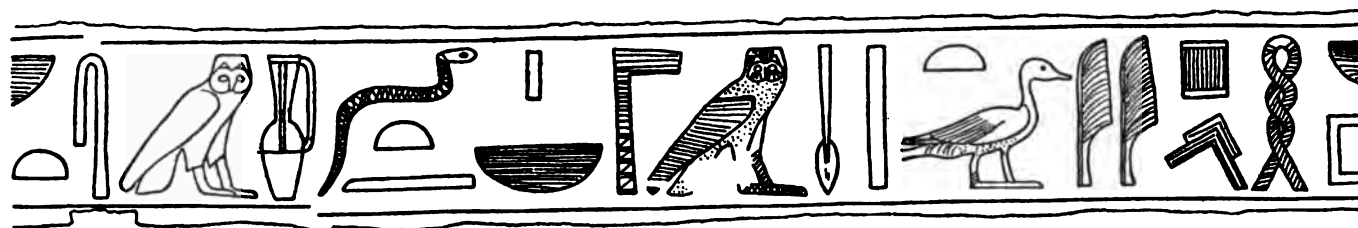
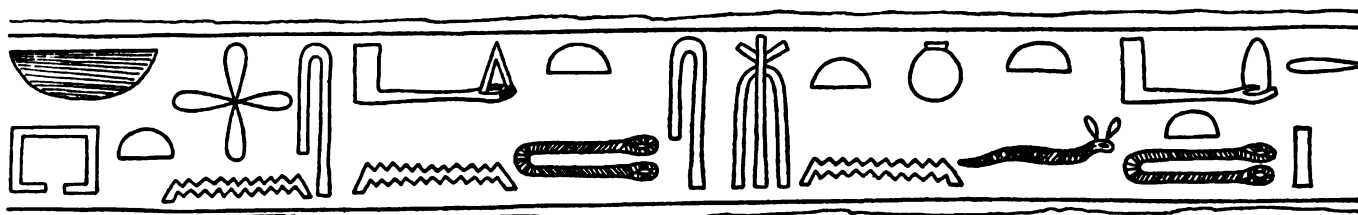
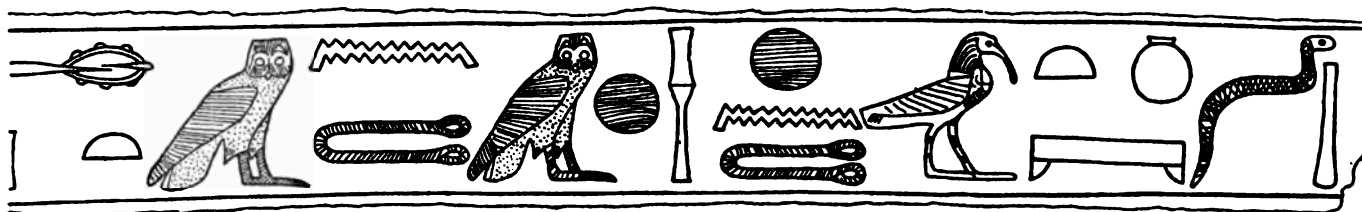


PLATE XX

**Reconstruction in plaster of the bead panel from
the innermost coffin. See Frontispiece, and
pp. 17 and 38. Scale 1 : 3.**

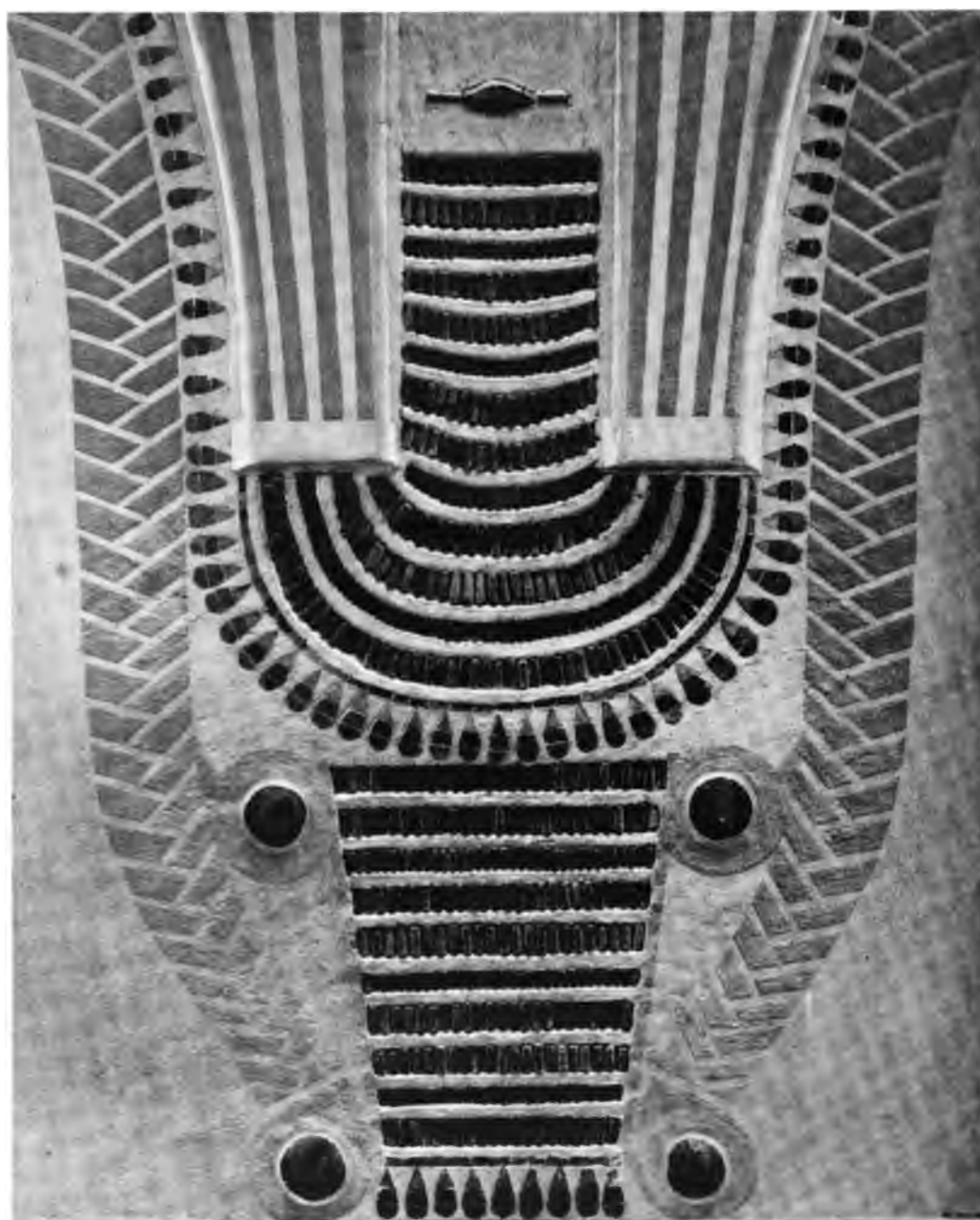


PLATE XXI

Gold circlet and rosettes from the wig. Some of the rosettes are shown in larger scale on Pl. XXVIII. See also pp. 18 and 58. Scale about 3 : 4.

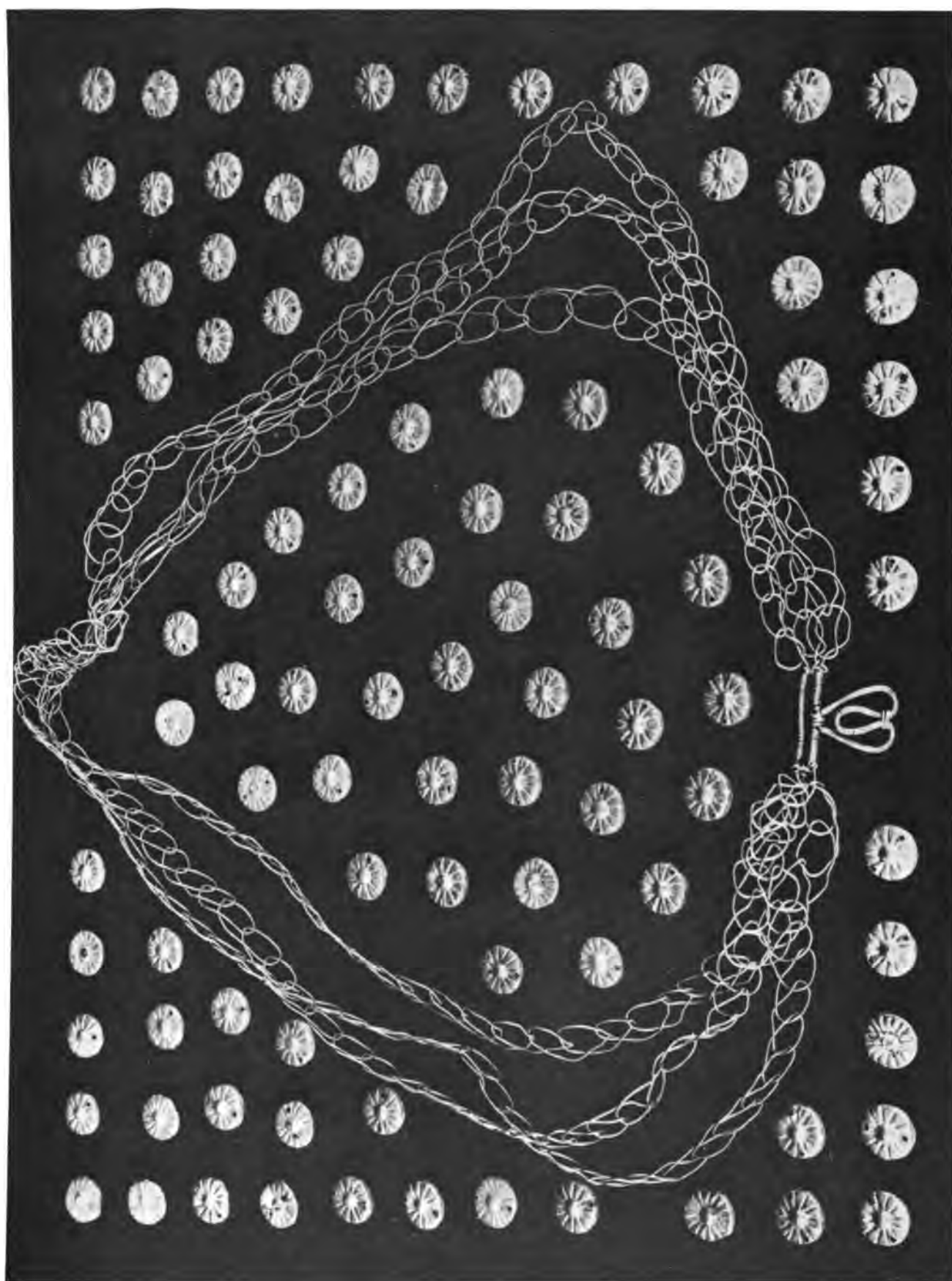


PLATE XXII

Girdle and necklaces. Materials gold, silver, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, and ivory (?). Color reproduction on Pl. XXIII. Detail photographs of clasp on Pl. XXVIII. See pp. 18 and 60 to 62. Scale 1 : 1.

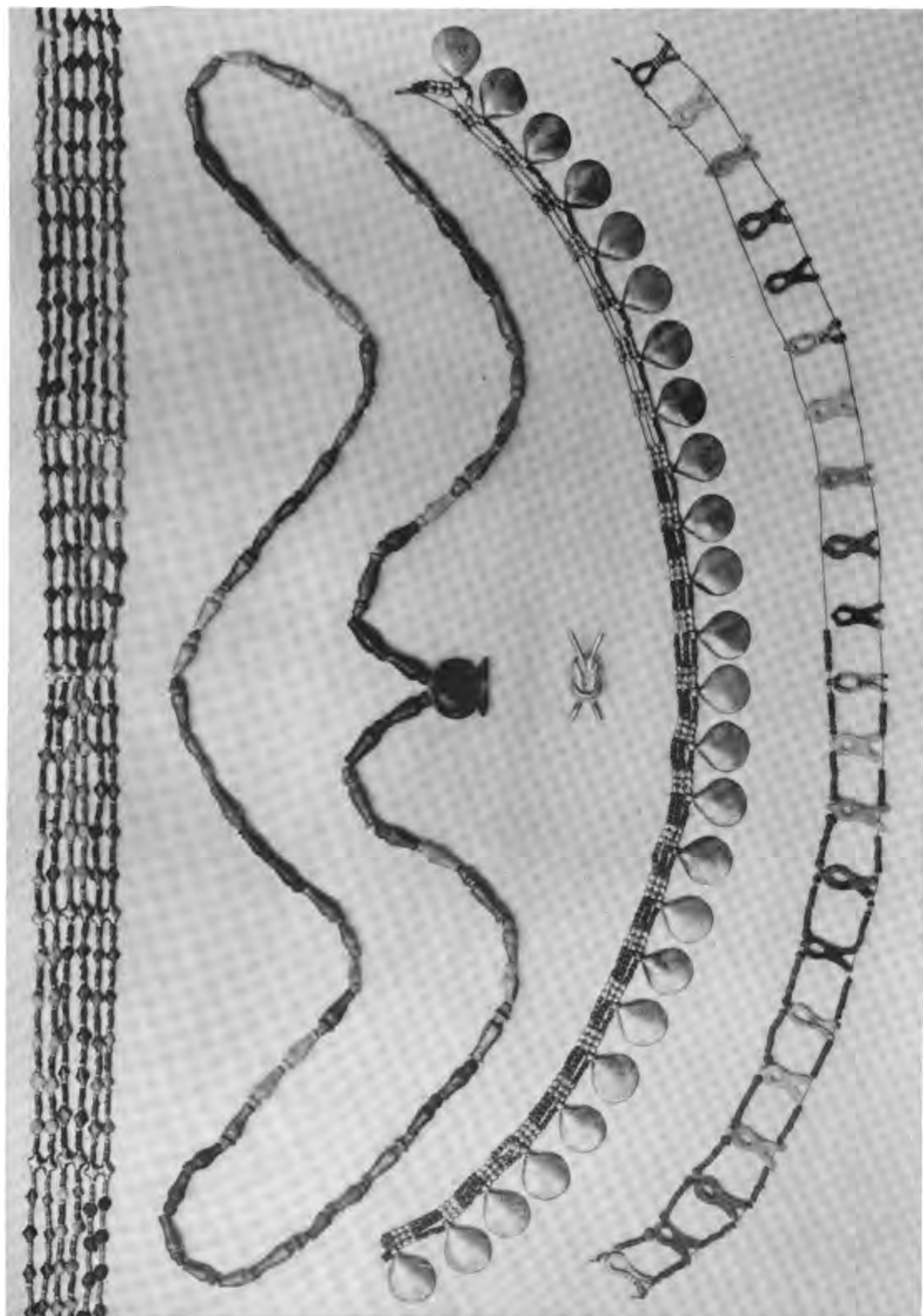


PLATE XXIII

Girdle and necklaces. Materials gold, silver, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, and ivory (?). Photograph on Pl. XXII. See pp. 18 and 60 to 62. Scale 1 : 1.

This plate has been reduced by 10% for the reprint edition (Scale 1:1.1).

PLATE XXIII

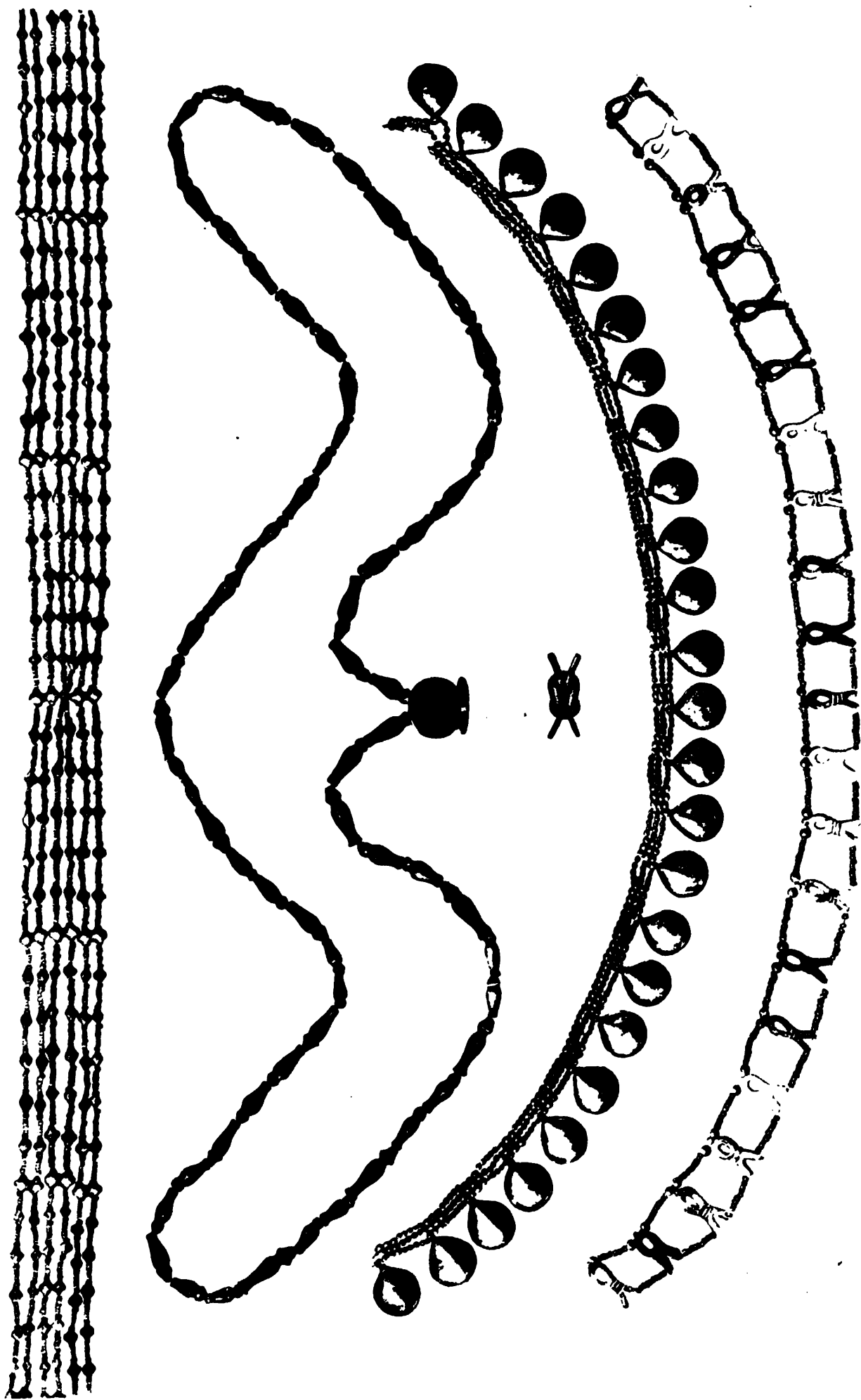
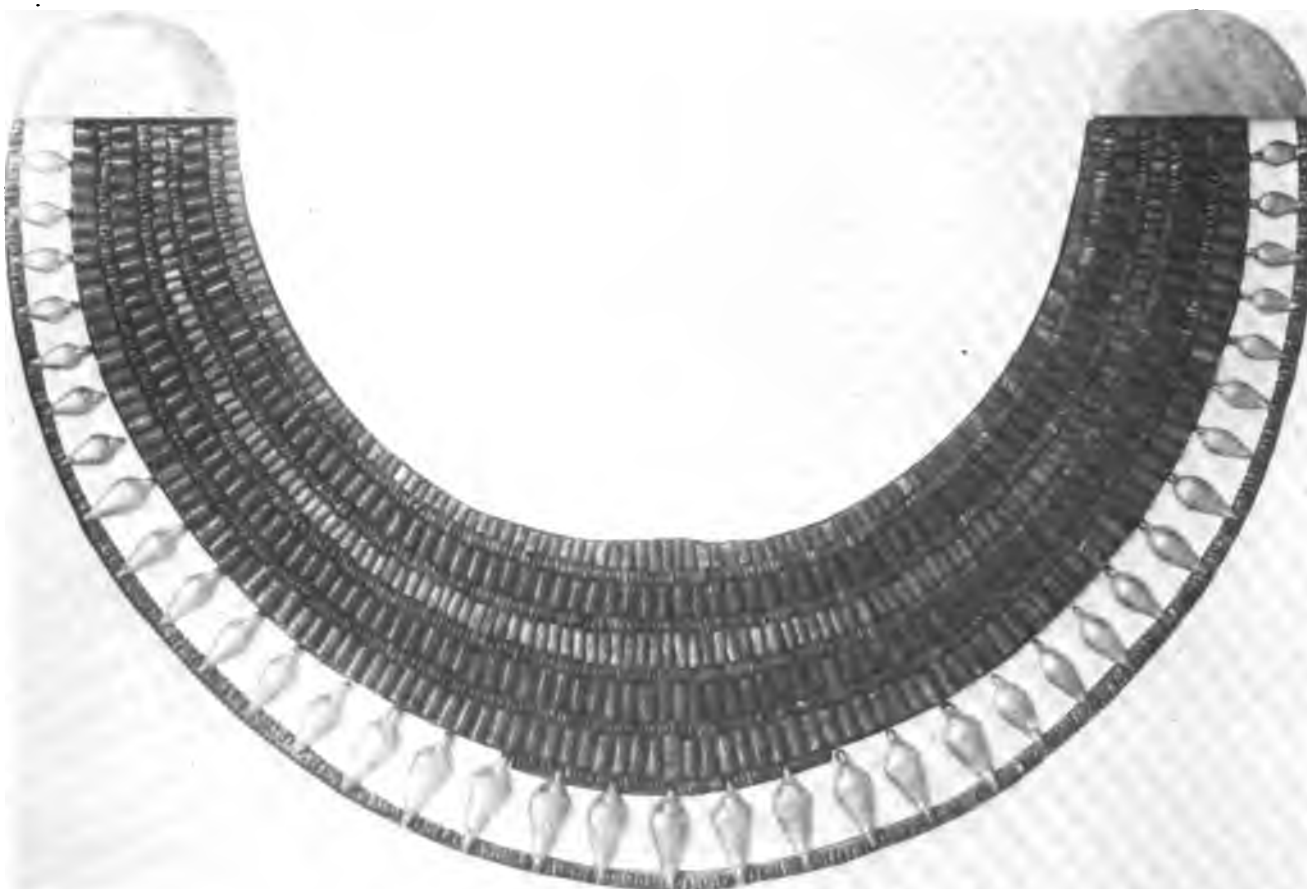


PLATE XXIV

- A. First collar. Materials gold leaf on plaster, carnelian, green felspar, and paste. Color reproduction on Pl. XXV. See pp. 20 and 64 to 68. Scale 2 : 3.
- B. Second collar. Materials gold leaf on plaster, green felspar, and glazed pottery. See pp. 20 and 64 to 68. Scale 2 : 3.



A



B

PLATE XXV

First collar. Materials gold leaf on plaster, carnelian, green felspar, and
paste. Photograph on Pl. XXIV. See pp. 20 and 64 to 68. Scale
1 : 1.

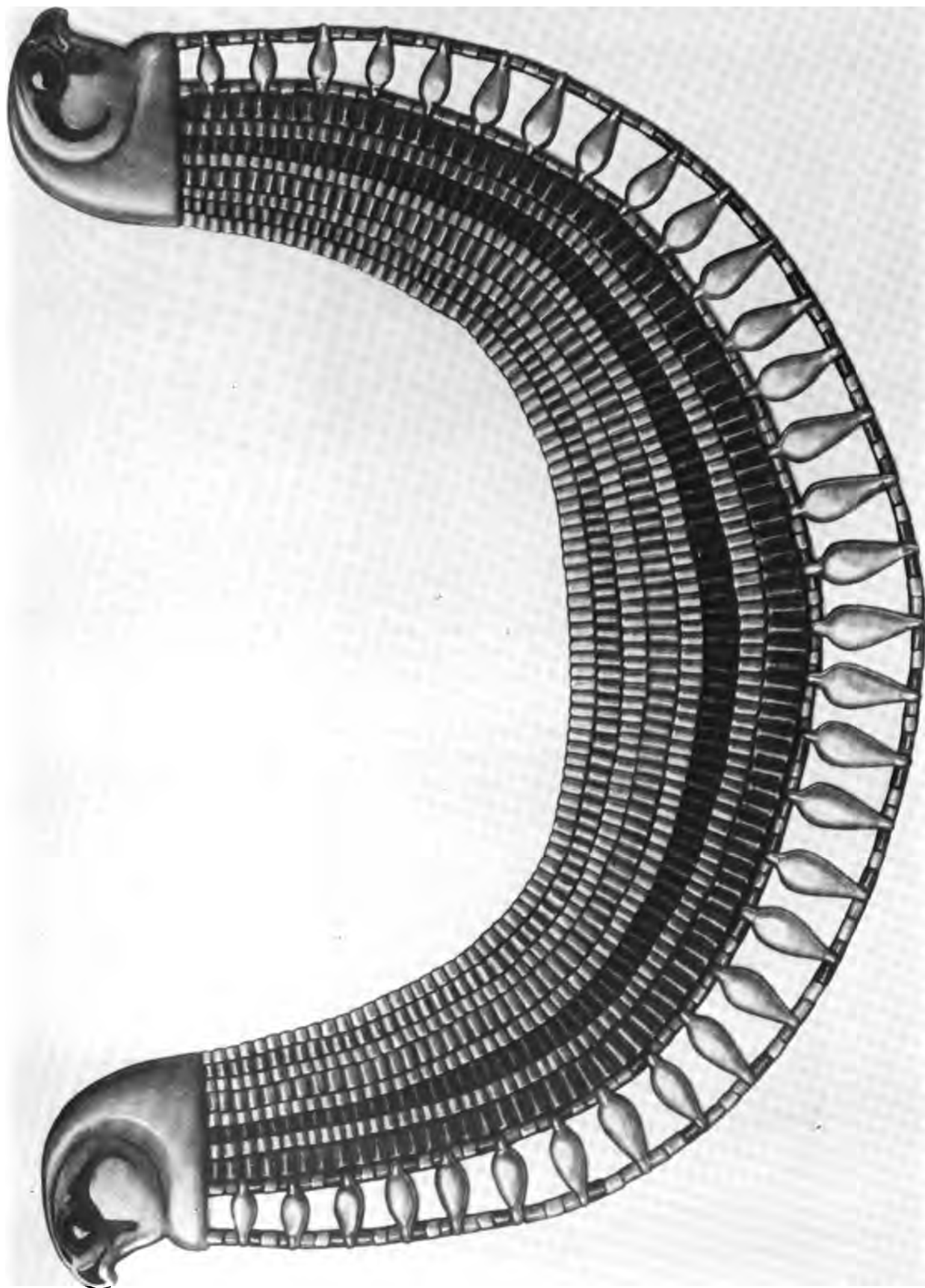
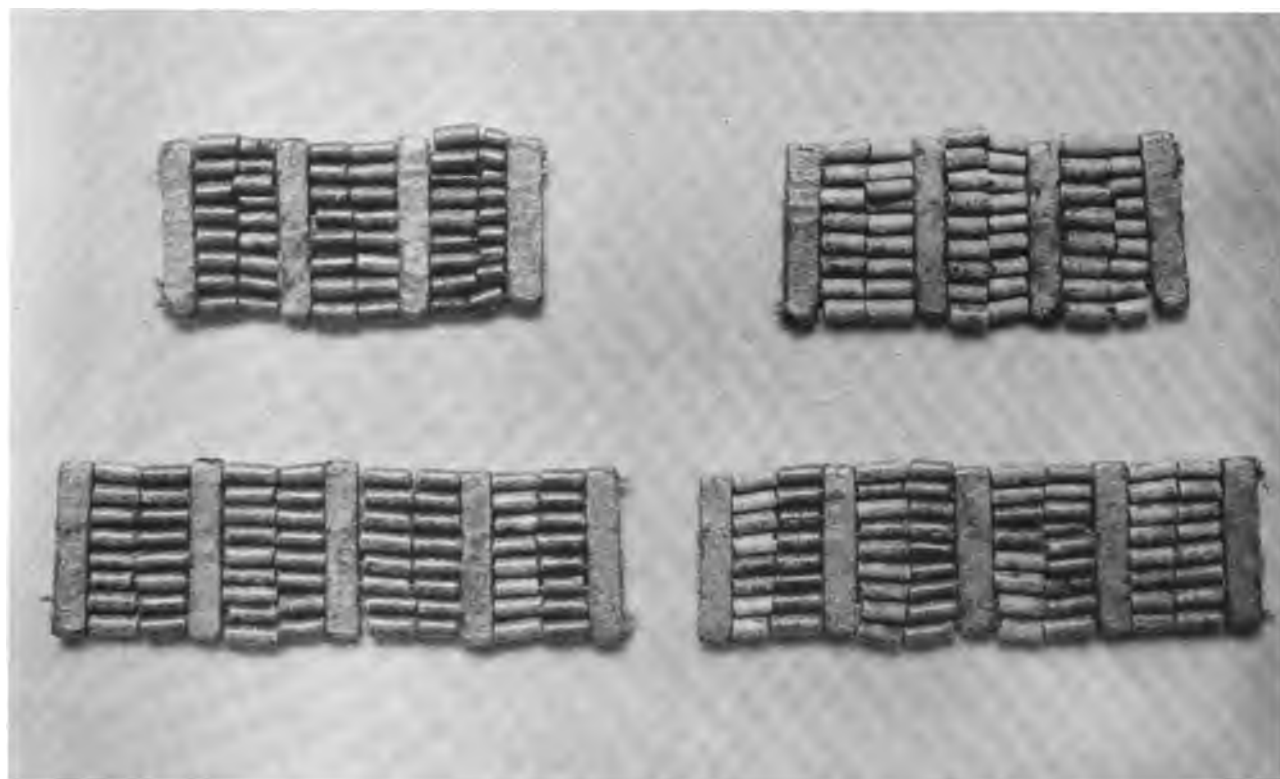


PLATE XXVI

- A. Silver spike, carnelian hawk-pendant, string of glazed pottery beads, and string of glazed pottery beads with large carnelian bead. See pp. 21 and 74 to 75. Scale 1 : 1.
- B. Bracelets and anklets. Materials wood covered with gold leaf, and glazed pottery. See pp. 21 and 72 to 74. Scale 3 : 4.



A



B

PLATE XXVII

Girdle of glazed pottery beads, with name-plate of wood covered with gold leaf. A color reproduction of a section of this girdle is given on Pl. XXXI, and photographs of the name-plate and of a section of the girdle beads in original order on Pl. XXVIII. See pp. 19 and 70.

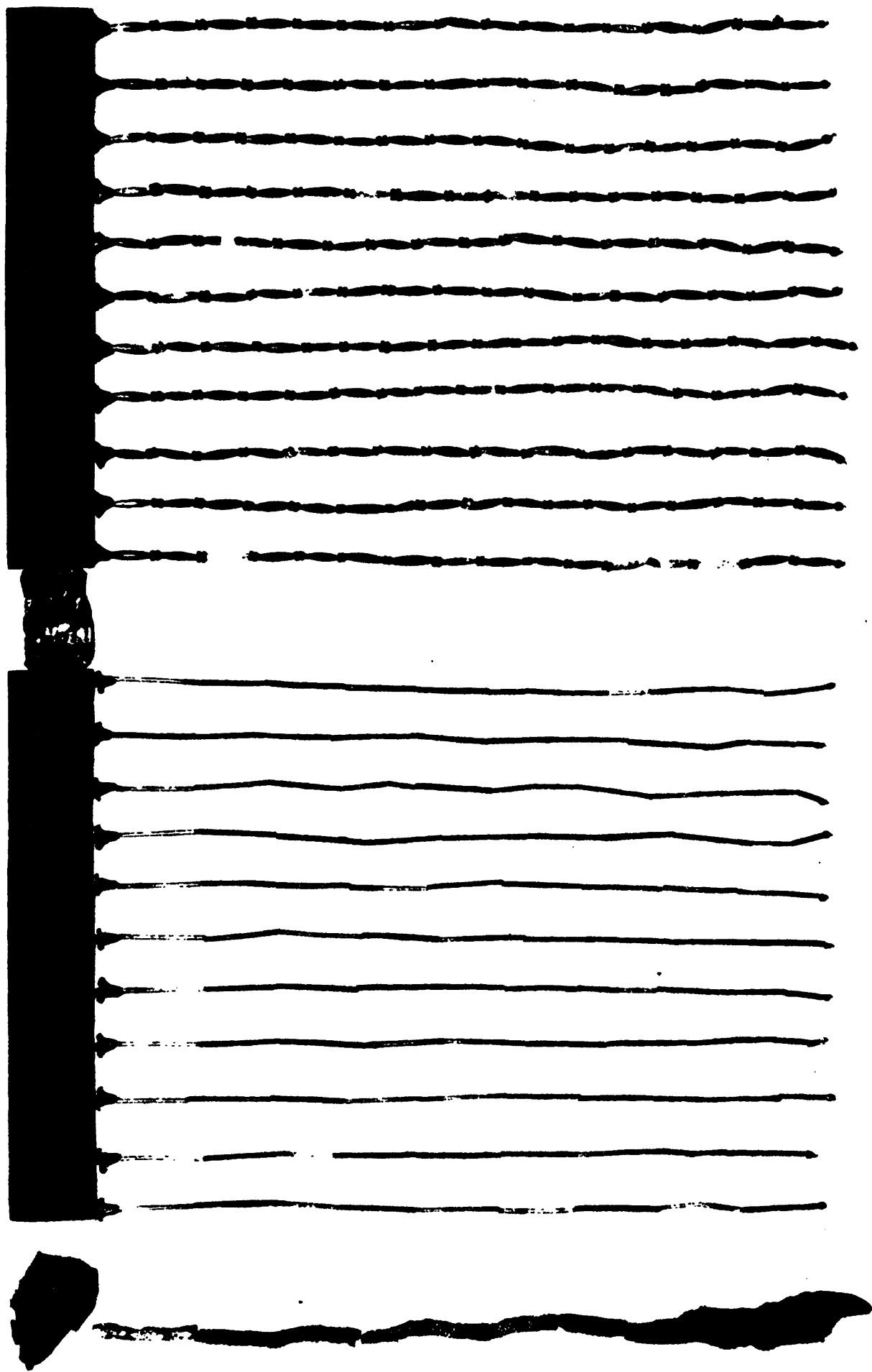


PLATE XXVIII

- A. Gold clasp, the two halves separate.
- B. The same, half clasped.
- C. The same, fully clasped. See p. 62. Scale 3 : 2.
- D. Gold rosette, back and front, showing method of attachment by means of a bar. See p. 59. Scale 1 : 1.
- E. Name-plate from bead girdle; wood covered with gold leaf. See p. 70. Scale 1 : 1.
- F. Gold rosette, back and front, showing method of attachment by means of holes. See p. 59. Scale 1 : 1.
- G. Section of bead girdle; the beads in original order, preserved by wax. See pp. 19 and 70. Scale 1 : 1.
- H and I. Back and front of an object found near the head of the mummy. See p. 105. Scale 1 : 2.
- J. Copper collar.
- K. Pieces of the gold leaf with which the collar was originally covered. See pp. 20 and 66.



A



B



C



D



E



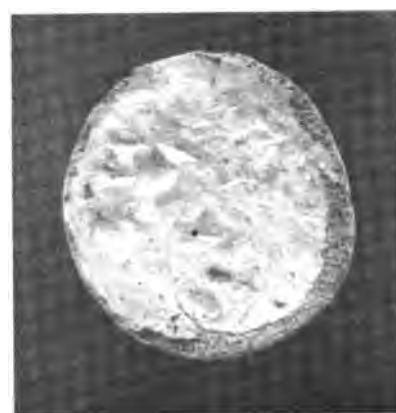
F



G



H



I



J



K

PLATE XXIX

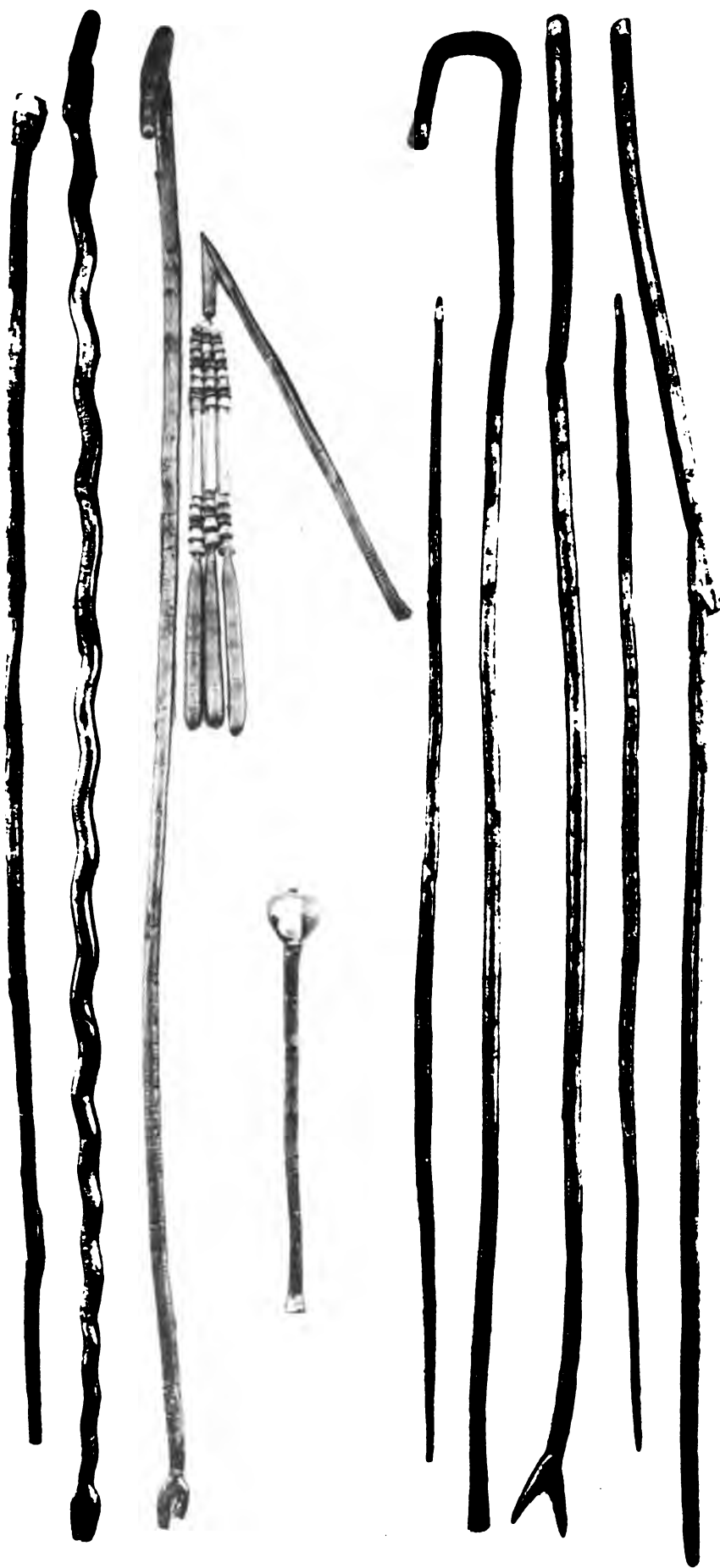
- A.** Group of wooden staves, found within the second coffin. See pp. 15 and 76 to 103. Scale about 1 : 7.
- B and C.** Full and profile views of the head of the third staff.



B



C



A

PLATE XXX

Ceremonial whip. Color reproduction on Pl. XXXI. See pp. 15 and 94 to 102. Scale about 2 : 5. Below, the three lowest beads, with the copper pins by which they were attached to the wooden flail-ends.

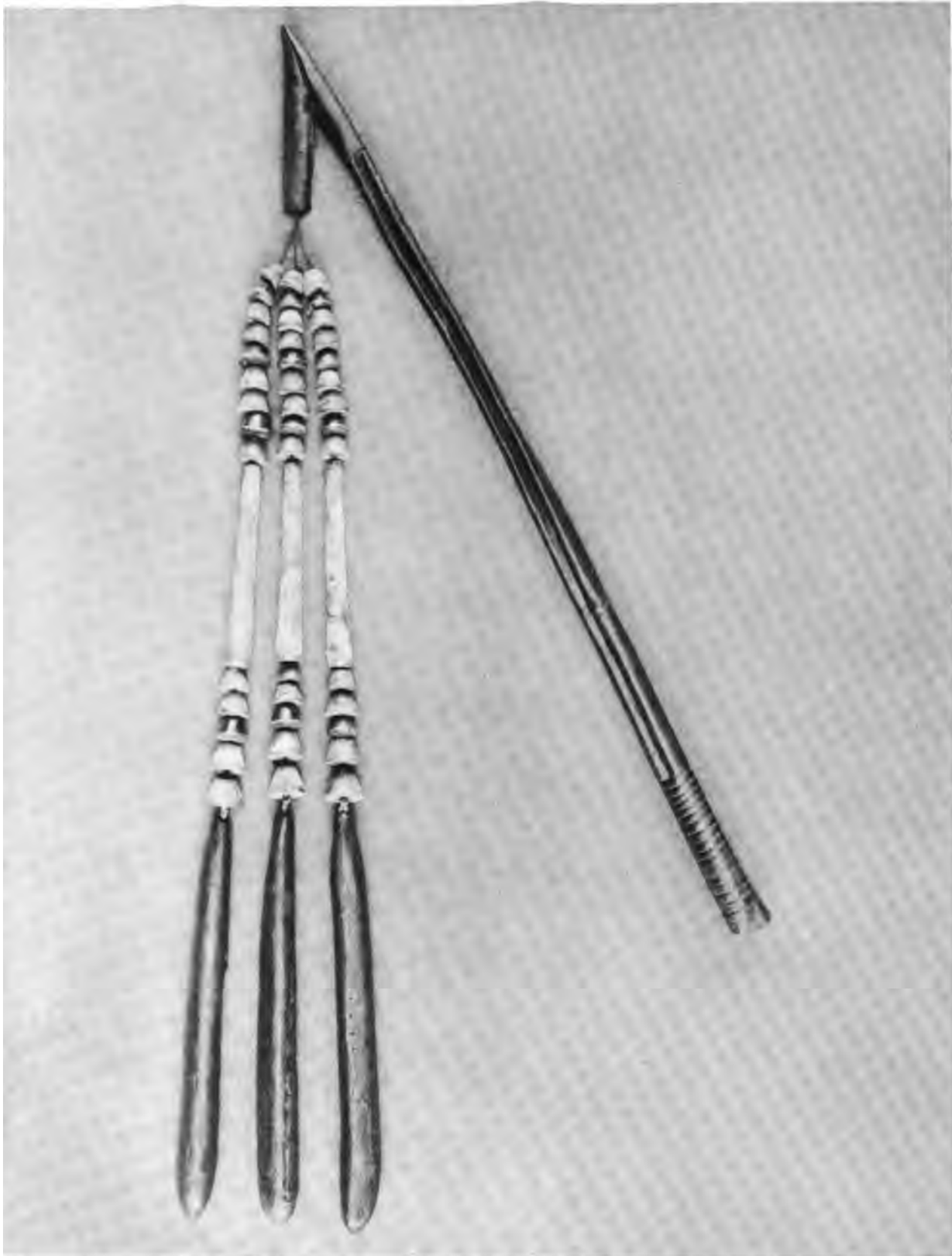
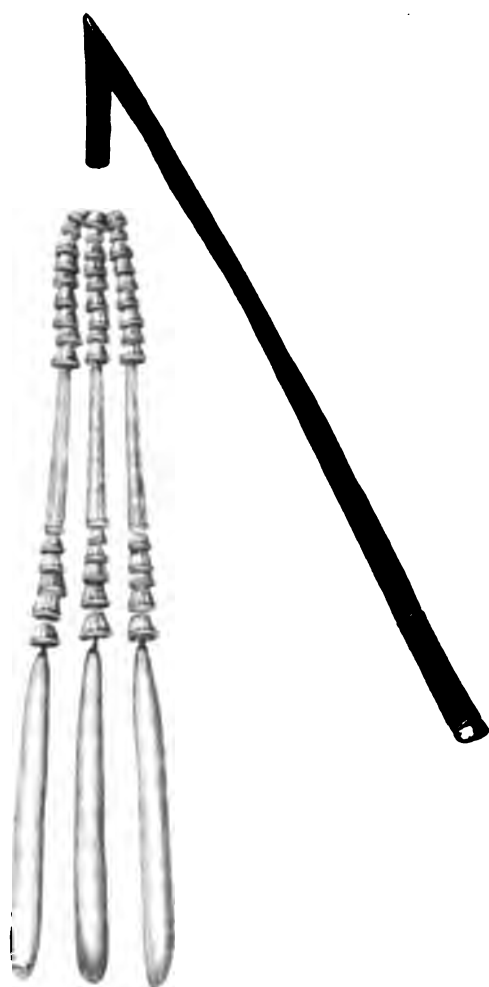


PLATE XXXI

- A. Ceremonial whip. Photograph on Pl. XXX.
See pp. 15 and 94 to 102. Scale 1 : 4.
- B. Canopic head, of wood covered with plaster.
Photographs on Pl. XXXIII. See pp. 13 and
107. Scale 7 : 12.
- C. Section of bead girdle. Photograph of girdle on
Pl. XXVII, and of name-plate on Pl. XXVIII.
See pp. 19 and 70. Scale 1 : 1.



A



B

PLATE XXXII

- A. Aragonite mace with wooden handle. See p. 102. Scale 1 : 3.
- B. Aragonite and crystal mace-heads. See p. 102.
- C. Copper dagger in wooden sheath. See pp. 104 and 105.
- D. Wooden swivel, round peg, and flat dowel from second coffin. See pp. 29 and 30. Scale 3 : 4.
- E. Copper hooks and pins from locking system of innermost coffin. See pp. 17 and 40. Scale 1 : 2.



A



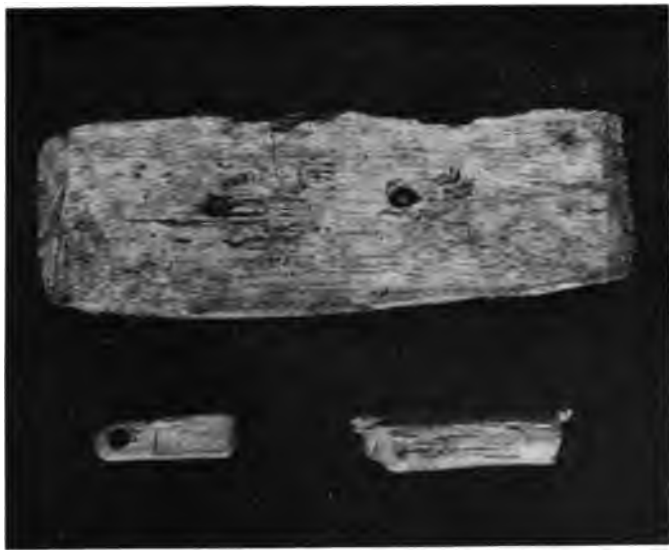
C



B



E



D

PLATE XXXIII

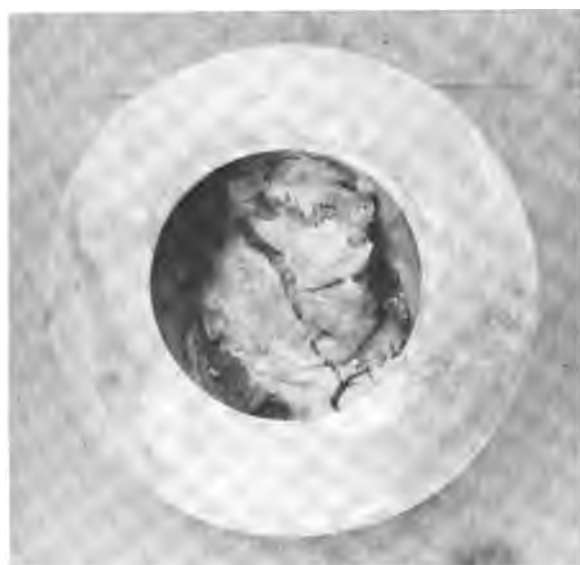
- A. Aragonite Canopic jars with wooden heads.
Color reproduction of one of the heads on
Pl. XXXI. See pp. 13 and 107. Scale 1 : 6.
- B. Profile views of two of the above heads. Scale
about 1 : 2.
- C AND D. Views showing contents of two of the
above jars. See p. 120.



A



B



C



D

PLATE XXXIV

Group of pottery, showing the various types found in the tomb. See
pp. 10 and 110 to 113. Scale about 1 : 6.

PLATE XXXIV

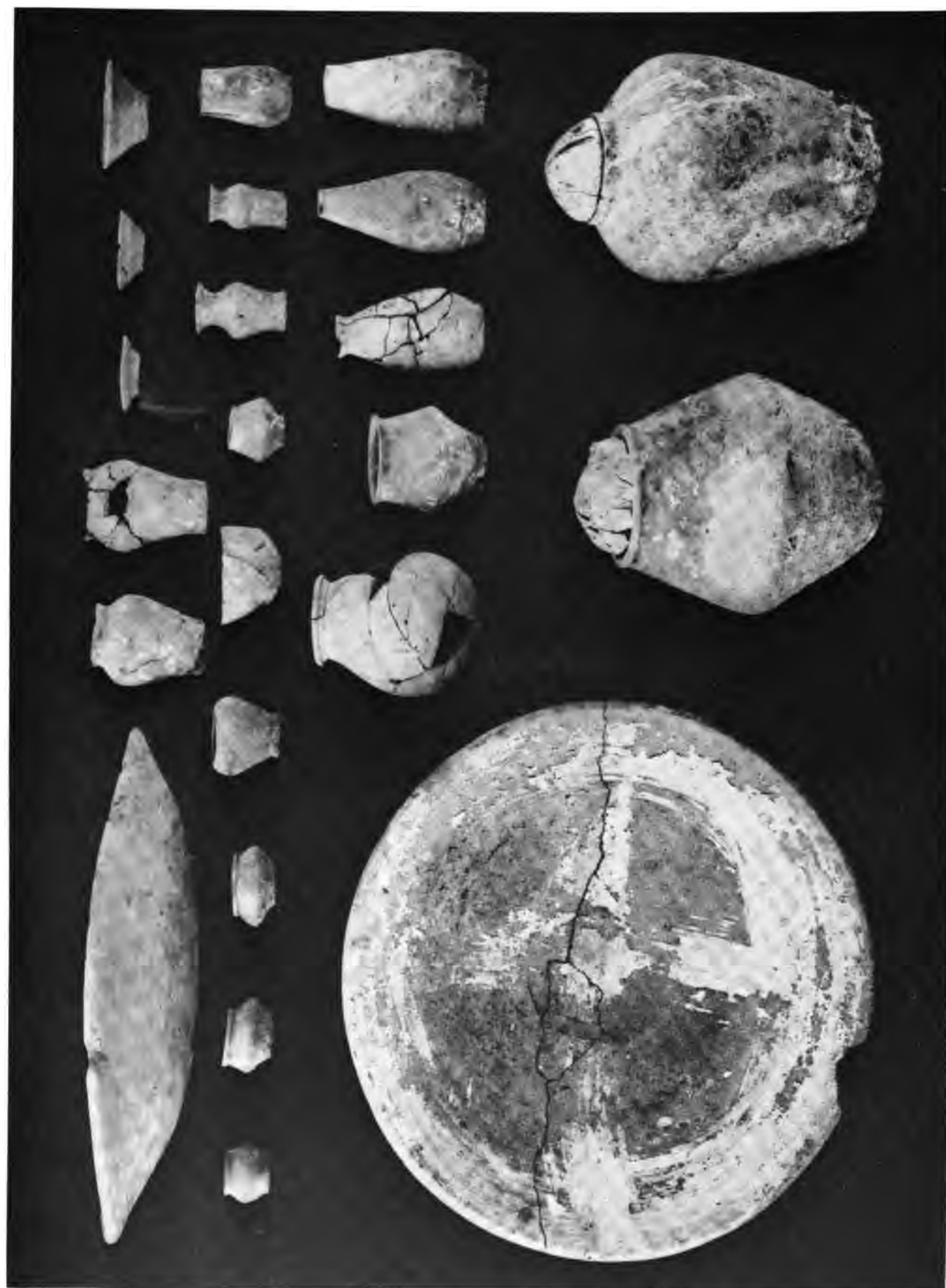


PLATE XXXV

A AND B. Two views of pottery bowl. See p. 112.
Scale 1 : 6.

C. Dish filled with model saucers. See p. 112.
Scale 1 : 6.

D. Dish filled with clay balls. See p. 112. Scale
1 : 6.

E. Inside of one of the model saucers, showing
grooving. See p. 112.

F. Bottom of small cup, showing the marks of the
cord with which it was cut from the wheel.
See p. 112.



A



B



C



D



E



F

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Davies, Norman de Garis

The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (2 vols. in 1)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vol. V: 1930)

Davies, Norman de Garis

The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes (2 vols. in 1)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vol. IX: 1933)

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Mace, Arthur C. and Winlock, Herbert E.

The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht

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White, Hugh G. Evelyn

The Monasteries of the Wadi 'N Natrun (3 vols.)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vols. II, VII and VIII: 1926-1933)

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Walter Hauser (1932)

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Schiller, A. Arthur

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(Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dept. of Egyptian Art Publications,
Vol. II: 1932)

Winlock, Herbert E.

The Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (2 vols. in 1)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers, No. 1, Pt. 1 and No. 5, 1921-1937)

Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (1921)

The Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (1937)

Winlock, Herbert E.

Materials Used at the Embalming of King Tut-Ankh-Amun

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers, No. 10: 1941)

Winlock, H. E.; Crum, W. E.; and White, Hugh G. Evelyn

The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes (2 vols.)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vols.
III and IV: 1926)

The Archaeological Material, by H. E. Winlock;

The Literary Material, by W. E. Crum

Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, by W. E. Crum;

Greek Ostraca and Papyri, by H. G. E. White

Winlock, Herbert E.; White, Hugh G. Evelyn; and Oliver, James H.

The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis (2 vols. in 1)

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vols. XIII
and XIV: 1938-1941)

The Excavations, by H. E. Winlock (1941)

Greek Inscriptions, by H. G. E. White and James H. Oliver (1938)

Winlock, Herbert E.

The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes

(Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, Vol. VI:
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